

MID-AMERICA

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The Jesuit Institute of Loyola University: Its Organization

No great claim to originality may be made on the part of this University with respect to the concept of an institute for research and writing, but considerable credit must be given to the president and trustees of Loyola University for sponsoring, for organizing and for launching a much needed project of scholarship. There are in the world today numerous groups of scholars, each of which is existing as a collaborative body purposing a minute scrutiny of some small corner of the vast field of universal knowledge. Each organized group is satisfying in a fashion peculiar to its purpose an unwritten obligation to give to the whole of mankind the benefits of specific talents for research. Because of the intensiveness of the scrutiny and the high degree of concentration on a limited field, the specialists, or researchers, at times meet with the criticism of narrowness, and the value of research is lowered in the popular mind. Yet the benefits accruing to humankind from the co-operative efforts of a number of trained men are quite apparent from the successes attained by institutes for medical, chemical, and physical research. Science has indeed added to the comfort and convenience of the race, has curtailed sickness and disease, and, having multiplied possibilities for new experiences in almost every way, has made life materially full, inevitably complex, and remarkably less peaceful. And in view of the material results deriving from scientific research, there are fewer critics of the specialist in science.

History on the other hand has added little to the physical comforts of life. Its appeal is to the intellectual curiosity of one generation concerning the progress and struggle of other generations, and hence history is quite subject to the jibes of those whose philosophy of life teaches them to live for the present and

let bygones be bygones. Less materialistic critics are perhaps justified at times in remarking about the lack of vision of the burrowing scholar perpetually digging within his own acre and within the narrow horizon of his own trench. But it is upon such narrow digging that the broad foundations of present-day organized historical scholarship has been built; and the very broadening of the field has tended to broaden the scholar. The development of history within the past generation has been little short of astounding. The workers have increased a hundred-fold; their efforts have been organized in universities, in libraries, and in historical societies. The study of history by the historians of this country is a vast effort, which is growing more consciously collaborative. The field of American history has designedly or otherwise divided itself into sections, phases, periods, and movements, and the historian of today cannot remain an isolated unit. He is too dependent upon other researches and upon organized materials and institutions. However, within any sphere there is wide leeway for individual enterprise. There is much opportunity for individual research, opportunity for more general writing founded upon individual research, and opportunity for the study and publication of manuscripts and sources.

With such thoughts in mind, this University has chosen the field of Jesuit history for detailed exploitation, because it was felt that therein lay adequate possibilities for widening the horizon of historical literature to some small extent. The field is limited geographically to the central portion of the United States where Jesuits have worked to various purposes since the advent of Father Marquette in ways which will become apparent with the progress of the addresses of these two sessions.*

In the past centuries the Jesuits like other religious orders have had plentiful occasions to manifest their inclinations toward collaborative projects because of their organization and community of interests. But the Jesuits have not always taken advantage of their opportunities. The makers of the *Ratio Studiorum* worked as an institute for more than forty years at the end of the sixteenth century. They gathered opinions on education and schools from all sources, they made laboratories of their first colleges wherein were tried the theories and practices of pedagogics, they cast aside the impracticable and organized the suitable data into a code of educational procedure

* The addresses delivered will be published in this and the following number of MID-AMERICA.

which served Europe, Asia, and the Americas for something short of two centuries. This plan of studies and curricula was only recently given to the English-speaking world by Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, a renowned student of education.

Another institute for collecting, organizing, sifting, and editing documents is that of the famed Bollandists. The story of the Jesuit, Father Heribert Rosweyde of Utrecht, who entered the Society in the year of the Spanish Armada (1588), is perhaps too well known for repetition. This indefatigable investigator occupied his holiday hours laboriously copying manuscripts pertaining to Church history in the libraries of Belgium and its vicinity. In 1607 he came forth with his plan. He intended to edit critically and to publish the sources regarding the lives of the saints. The plan was elaborate, so much so that Cardinal Bellarmine thought it a rash presumption for Father Rosweyde to embark on an enterprise which would require two hundred years to complete. Father Rosweyde did not intend to live for two hundred years, and hence he labored more and more at the manuscripts until death found him before he had begun his publications. Another Jesuit, Father John van Bolland took charge of the collection of documents and began to add to it from the other libraries of Europe. He gathered about him trained helpers, had space allotted for their work and for the archive, and soon began the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*. In the face of many adverse circumstances and opposed at times by otherwise piously minded persons who resented the intrusion of documentary truth into the domain of entrenched legend, the critical work of editing has gone on with various interruptions until the present, a notable example of the persevering work of men of the manuscripts.

In 1701, a group of Jesuit writers and redactors, residing for the most part at the Collège de Louis le Grand in Paris, began publishing a monthly journal of scholarly proportions that embraced biographical, historical, and scientific writings. The journal was called *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Trévoux being the name of the printing house whence it emanated for the first thirty years of its existence. On the suppression of the Society in France in 1762, the publication was continued under changing names until it ceased completely in 1782. By that year the octogenarian journal had given to the world three hundred volumes of valuable materials. One of the last productions of the Trévoux writers rests serenely on the reference shelf to the left in the form of eight huge tomes known as the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*.

Advertance only can be made to a number of collaborative projects in progress at present, which might be classified as institutes of research along particular lines and in which the Jesuits are involved or acting as sponsors. They are aiding in the publications of the Biblical and Oriental Institutes under papal auspices. A group of Jesuit writers is compiling the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*. In this country there is an American Jesuit Seismological Association which has branch seismological recording stations from coast to coast. With reference to history the Jesuit fathers of the east have been releasing a privately published series of works from Woodstock, Maryland, which is known as *The Woodstock Letters*. There have been issued thus far one hundred and seventy members, or seventy-four volumes, each containing early documents besides local materials that are growing more important with the years. Several years ago the Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu was formed in Rome, and this publishes the *Archivum Historicum* biennially, a volume of source materials of Jesuit history from all parts of the world. The most important undertaking of the Jesuits during the past half century has been that of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, over fifty volumes of sixteenth-century Jesuit chronicles, diaries, and letters. At present new editions and other materials are being organized for publication, and there is promise of volumes on the Jesuits in Florida, Mexico, Canada, and South America. It is time then that the Jesuits should organize the materials for this part of the continent along similar lines.

Two men of great historical outlook and in widely separated places have been envisioning for some years past the possibilities and benefits of an institute of Jesuit history for the Americas. One is Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton of The University of California and the other is Father Samuel K. Wilson. Dr. Bolton for more than a score of years has accomplished an almost unbelievable amount of research in American and in European libraries and archives. There is perhaps no scholar in this country who has a better grasp of the documentary materials for American history than he, and certainly none has been happier in productivity and guidance. His researches and writings brought him into contact with the innumerable Jesuit documents in and out of archives, and to these he has devoted much of his enthusiastic energy, most recently to those pertaining to the labor of the Jesuits on the Pacific slope. Dr. Bolton conceived a series of publications under the heading of an Institute of Jesuit His-

tory of the Pacific Coast, and upon that concept he will probably enlarge in his address.

Father Wilson has long had the idea that a careful study of the work of the Jesuits in the Mississippi Valley and its immediate approaches would bring to light new viewpoints on the history of the Mid-West, particularly by reason of the missionary, social, and cultural efforts of the fathers. He cherished a desire also to collect the available sources. As soon as he was made President of Loyola University he took steps to realize his plan, but ran into the usual difficulty at first of obtaining a number of Jesuits who could be set aside conveniently for the work. Still, during the past year the definite organization of the Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University has taken place, and preliminary meetings were held for the purpose of drafting constitutions.

According to the constitutions and regulations, the purpose of the Institute is to promote the study of American Jesuit history in several ways, namely, first by research investigations into the principal sources of American history in which the Jesuits have had part; secondly, by publishing articles, monographs, and books from the sources, and including the sources; and thirdly, in a teaching way by making available both the materials of the Institute and the members for the advance of graduate studies. The members of the Institute who are attached to the staff of professors are to conduct seminars and act as guides to the graduate students.

Membership in the Institute shall belong only to Jesuits and non-Jesuits who have received training in research, and these are to be nominated by the Executive Committee of the Institute. This Executive Committee upon the appointment of the President of the University is to govern the Institute. The executive officers are to be the director of the Institute, the assistant director, and the secretary, each of whose duties are specified. Undoubtedly there will be modifications and adjustments as time goes on. The members of the Institute are classified as those in residence and attached to the University in professional capacities, and those attached to other universities. An advisory board is to be nominated by the Institute, and the advisers will be asked to accept honorary and non-active membership.* The

* The speaker here interrupted his address to request Dr. Herbert E. Bolton to become the first honorary member and historical adviser, and Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick to become honorary member and educational adviser to the Institute.

resident members of the Institute appointed thus far are Fathers Gilbert J. Garraghan, W. Eugene Shiels and Jerome V. Jacobsen, while the non-resident members are Father Raymond Corrigan of St. Louis University, Father Raphael Hamilton of Marquette University, and Father Jean Delanglez of New Orleans.

In conclusion it may be stated that this Institute makes no pretensions as to its magnitude or importance. It intends to learn and to aid in learning. It sets before itself a task which will necessarily be slow of accomplishment. Possibly it will offer some service to historical scholarship and thus prove itself in some small degree worthy of the niche which it presumes to occupy in the large edifice of research. It is quite aware of its dependence upon preceding and contemporary learned men and societies. It accepts with deep gratitude the words of encouragement which have come from many sources and this expression of encouragement from those who are honoring this beginning with their presence.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

The Institute of Jesuit History: Its Method and Scope

The researcher who has worked for ever so short a time in the materials for American history, particularly those of the colonial period, is aware of a large volume of documentary stuff that may well fall under the general style of *Jesuitica*. Letters, diaries, account books, memorials, baptismal registers, marriage and burial records, personal notes, deeds, charters, licenses, their number is legion. If the scholar has found and has studied much of these types of records, he has come to descry a certain system and order in the papers, so much so that he might almost prognosticate precisely what might be anticipated in a given place and position. For Jesuits have written their multitudinous reports according to a given plan and purpose.

As one turns the pages of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, as yet an uncompleted publication from the collection of sixteenth-century papers in the general archive of the order, he will often observe in the letters the insistence laid on making reports according to an appropriate scheme or formula. The fathers general, especially Lainez, returned to this admonition quite frequently in their correspondence. A typical case of the demands made by superiors for detailed written information is that of the foundation of the Jesuit work in America. After the decision to make an ingress at Florida, a pioneer group went out under careful instructions to locate itself in the uncharted country, to investigate the ground and the peoples, to set up a permanent establishment, and to report back to headquarters. In connection with such enterprises, the questionnaire method was highly developed. It was utilized in forming the Plan of Studies, and the records of this prolonged investigation furnish by-products of invaluable data on the earlier condition of the Order. In a general way, the *Constitutions* of the Jesuits lay down regulations for the records which are to be kept in each province, university, college, house, and mission, for local administrative purposes, as they do likewise for the information that must be transmitted from lower to higher offices. Because of the demand for data, there has finally come to reside with the Curia of the General an immense mass of correspondence and statistics.

The historian who is aware of this accumulated evidence

would have a happy time indeed, if only the material would remain in its primary depository. But the tides of history have changed so often that this paradise of the historian cannot be realized. What are euphemistically called "the ravages of time" have often scattered and destroyed materials. "The ravages of time" have taken on various guises, appearing sometimes as native carelessness, and elsewhere as the work of some unkindly spirit; again, the governments which suppressed the Society and confiscated its records, occasioned at times the subsequent rifling of well-kept archives and caused either the junking of the papers, or their dispersal, or perhaps profiteering on dubiously acquired goods; sometimes there has been vandal destruction by mobs that burned and pillaged priceless libraries, as was done in Spain in 1931.

Fortunately, far-sighted scholars have appeared here and there during the course of the last centuries to rescue much of this wreckage. Down in Santiago, Chile, the Biblioteca Nacional houses one of the largest collections of such material known to historians. The Archivo Nacional de México, whose treasures were carefully investigated and collated and indexed by Doctor Bolton in his 1913 report for the Carnegie Foundation, furnishes another example of gathering what had been swept to the winds. Here and there across the United States are found smaller deposits, and Canada boasts some precious bundles of similar papers. In fact, one can scarcely enter a library which has any interest in gathering old books and papers without encountering some copy bearing the stamp, seal, mark, or notice of previous Jesuit ownership. It will be one purpose of this Institute to continue the battle against the "ravages of time" and to preserve the present records against old age, by means of the modern methods.

Yet even thus there is a further problem. Not all of these deposits are open to use. A recent attempt was made to obtain copies of manuscripts in a Canadian archive, only to be met by rejection on the score that the papers were in escrow for the use of one individual who feared that his writing would suffer in originality and fruitfulness were he to allow others to possess copies of the manuscripts. That story could be repeated many times from the experience of those here present. Moreover, there are archives wherein the Jesuit of today may not set foot, and others in which he is not permitted to investigate manuscripts written by earlier members of the Order.

Another difficulty is the fact that, in many places, some of these materials are not catalogued. Here in Chicago this is partially true in all of our great libraries. And a large eastern city library has an invaluable set of papers bearing on a famous Jesuit episode in South America, and there are grounds for suspecting that to this day the librarian in charge is ignorant of what he possesses. It is hoped that the Loyola Archive will obtain copies of this material before the custodian becomes too conscious of his treasure and locks it away beyond all usefulness. Many diocesan archives are in a similar condition. But, while all these local peculiarities offer an obstacle to the employment of such materials, at the same time they give promise of much that is as yet unknown to scholars.

Our aim is to try to find as many as possible of these known or unknown deposits, and to make photo-copies that will later be enlarged and stored here at Loyola for the use of anyone who is qualified to appreciate archival matter. Next, we hope to catalogue this material, thus to make it available to those who are seekers of historical truth. Our graduate students will be among the first to profit from this enterprise. Finally, we hope to work ahead on production, in publishing translations with proper editing, monographs, broader studies based on the originals, in all things keeping before us our objective of investigating the activities of Jesuits wherever they came into contact with the general story of the history of America.

W. EUGENE SHIELDS

A Challenge to the Institute

The establishment of research institutes at Jesuit institutions is an educational policy that should be encouraged in every possible manner. It should be a way to direct into definite channels the possibilities of public service to the Church and to the country. It will have important educational by-products on the quality of educational service to the students. It will strengthen our institutions where they are not distinctive, and will stimulate long-term educational planning of our universities. It will, too, prevent competition where co-operation is so much needed, and it will promote concentration where diffusion dissipates fruitful energies. I heartily congratulate Loyola on the educational statesmanship of its program.

It is a happy choice that this Institute at Loyola is dedicated to Jesuit history. It is a field of rich opportunity as Thwaites and Bolton have richly demonstrated in this country. Its general history offers other opportunities that I hope to be able to indicate. The special histories are beginning to appear—Spalding for Maryland, Kenney for Florida, and Garraghan for the Illinois-Missouri territory. There is the opportunity for the Institute to serve as a clearing house for all studies made in the field of its special interest, and locate all pertinent documents, and to keep a comprehensive catalogue file of all such materials. I take it that the organization of this Institute at Loyola means that within the entire Jesuit institutions of the country there will be no duplication of organization. But I trust that there will go out from this center helps and aids and programs to the other institutions in the organization of the study of their local histories, and that there will be a co-ordination of the efforts of all under the stimulating leadership of the Loyola Jesuit History Institute.

The writer just returned from Loyola of New Orleans where he examined the library shelves to see what they have of Jesuit history. They have a number of very interesting items, including the documents of the provincial history. One would think a catalogue of all this material and of similar material in all the Jesuit institutions should be catalogued in the same form and copies kept on file at Loyola so that here in Chicago one could locate all documents wherever they were in the country. Need it be added that the rooms of all Jesuits should be searched for

material that hasn't been on the library shelves for years, and also neglected storage places in the various institutions.

THE CHALLENGE: THE EDUCATIONAL HISTORY
OF THE JESUITS

I approach the problems of the Institute not from the standpoint of the professional historian but from the standpoint of educational history. After all, the Society is an educational group. It serves religion through education. It has been a factor in educational history for almost four hundred years. It is today the dominating factor in the training of the Catholic laity in the United States. Whatever the scope of this Institute is today, or whatever section of the country it may emphasize today, it must in the not distant future deal with the educational history of the Jesuit Order.

May I suggest too that this will not be its ultimate scope, for the educational history of the Jesuit Order in this country is intimately related to the whole problem of Catholic educational history, and a history of Catholic education in the United States needs to be written. There is no adequate history of such nor an approach to such a history. There is no history of American education which gives any appreciable notice to the development of Catholic education, nor to the interaction of Catholic education and the general educational development of the United States. For a general history of Catholic education in the United States the materials have not been given an even elementary organization, and a good deal of the strands of the history have been given only pietistic treatment. The fundamental challenge to the Institute that I make is then from the standpoint of educational history. What we wish you would do ultimately is to write a competent and comprehensive educational—and may I add—social history of the Jesuits, and that means ultimately a history of Catholic education. The objective data is admirable. Let us by all means accumulate it, let us index and make available the documents, let us have chronologies, let us have the history of discoveries of places, of the visits of explorers, and other facts of external aspects of history, but let us have too a history of the Jesuits that is a part of the history of civilization. Let us have a cultural history of the Jesuits, a social history of the Jesuits, an educational history of the Jesuits. This is, it seems to me, the fundamental challenge to the Institute. Let us illustrate its application.

THE MISSIONARY AS EDUCATOR AND CIVILIZER

Let us look at the very earliest American problem for more rounded treatment, the Jesuit missionary. The main emphasis as far as the intelligent reader is concerned has been on the by-products of Jesuit activity. The discovery of rivers and the discovery of lands are incident to the main activity of the Jesuits—the salvation of the Indians, the civilization of a people. Perhaps the greatest opportunity in our time for the study of the transit of civilization from Europe is in the work which the Jesuits did. This is so because of the nature of the work and of the records of the work. There has been as yet no adequate social history of the missions; there is no educational history of the missions.

I have felt for a long time that the missionary and the mission had not been treated adequately or significantly in American educational history, that, in fact, they had been greatly neglected. It seemed to me, too, that in the transit of European civilization such as occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a peculiarly rich opportunity to study socio-educational history. The mission in that transition was the educational and civilizing agency. I was glad to find that Professor Bolton has had the same feeling and has done his work in accordance with it even though educational historians know not of it. To make such a view of the missions generally available and especially to educational historians is one challenge to this Institute.

Professor Bolton in an admirable article on "The Missions as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies," stated the problem, and in that article and since its publication has made contributions as outstanding as Frederick Turner's regarding our Anglo-American frontier. In discussing an article by Father Engelhardt, Bolton says:

It is quite true as Engelhardt says, that they "came not as scientists, geographers, as schoolmasters, nor as philanthropists, eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ." But it is equally true, and greatly to their credit, that incidentally from their own standpoint and designedly from that of the government, they were all these and more and that to all these and other services they frequently and justly made claim when they asked for government aid.

American educational history has entirely neglected the missions as its primary educational institution. This conception of the missionary as educator and as a civilizing influence, and of

the mission as a school, has not yet affected the American educational historian. What the missionary did was to transfer European culture to the American continent, and if his influence has not been relatively so permanent in the United States, it is strikingly so in the countries to the south of us, our Hispanic American neighbors. The educational means of this transit of civilization was religious instruction, industrial training, at least rudimentary teaching in the arts and sciences, and the whole organization of community life as educational influence.

Incidentally, for example, as we discuss this modern problem of the organization of the whole community life as educational influence, we must not forget that the missionary was often that most modern person, the regional planner. He made preliminary surveys of physical features, of the inhabitants, planned his missions, organized the social and industrial life of his neophytes. These are significant facts for educational history and for general social history.

In one place in the aforementioned article of Professor Bolton he calls the mission a great industrial school—and it was, a very practical and effective school. I am not concerned now about the amazing agricultural results, but it was a school in which "the women were taught to cook, sew, spin and weave; the men to fell the forest, build, run the forge, tan leather, make ditches, tend cattle, and shear sheep." Should a history of industrial education in the United States neglect such significant facts?

A HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISE

There is a problem in the general history of the Jesuits that the challenge to the Institute which has just been indicated must include. I can bring it before you more sharply by making an assertion. In an adequate history of the Jesuits, a history born of the very nature of its spirit, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius will be a more significant educational document than the *Ratio Studiorum*. This has been true of the past and it is almost certainly to be true of the future. The Jesuit objective (Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam) is more truly achieved by the processes of spiritual formation of the *Spiritual Exercises* than it is by the humanistic curriculum of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is true of the Jesuit teacher and of the student in the Jesuit schools. Perhaps such study as is here implied would make clear to the Order the imperative necessity of applying the principles of the *Exercises* more generally to the day-to-day

processes of education. Certainly the extension of the influences of the *Spiritual Exercises* through retreats is the most significant form of adult education in religion and morals in contemporary education. I see also in such a view the elevation of St. Ignatius in all histories of education, Catholic and non-Catholic, to the stature of a major educational figure. It is amazing the neglect of St. Ignatius as educator in our educational histories, Catholic and non-Catholic.

A LARGER SOCIAL ISSUE IN EDUCATION

There are larger issues in social and educational history that should be faced and which might very well challenge the resources of your Institute. Father Kane in his *An Essay Toward a History of Education* raises one of these in the educational history regarding the Jesuit Order itself. He says on page 274: "Even from such conservative estimates, the statement already made does not seem exaggerated: that for more than two centuries the Jesuit school system was the most important single factor in European school education." On the opposite page he says very significantly: "The millions of students who passed through the Jesuit schools did not succeed in remedying the gross social and religious deficiencies of the Catholic countries, did not prevent the spread of irreligion fostered by the eighteenth century 'encyclopedists,' did not promote the political justice which would have warded off the vicious extremes of the French Revolution, did not even save the corporate existence of their Jesuit teachers." Then, putting these two sentences in relation, it undoubtedly suggested to his mind a very important aspect of social history, particularly as to the influence of education in building a new social order, which is a major problem of our contemporary discussion. He says: "Some day history may finally teach us that such achievements are beyond the power of any school education, and make us gauge aright how much more powerful than the schools are the educational forces outside the schools." It is such larger issues that ultimately, I hope, the historical researches of this Institute will help us to settle.

MISINTERPRETATIONS OR MISSTATEMENTS OF JESUIT HISTORY

There is a challenge to this Institute in the misinterpretations and misstatements of Jesuit history, and also the neglect or disregard of the facts. There is no reason why this tradition of error should continue indefinitely unchallenged, or why the

correct data or interpretation should not be furnished to publishers and authors. For illustration we need not go back to Duhr's *Jesuiten-Fabeln*, nor need we go back to Compayré and Painter and older American histories of education. Let us take one of the most recent histories of modern education: Eby and Arrowood's *Development of Modern Education*.

Our first illustration will exhibit statements that the authors apparently did not wish to sponsor, but nevertheless the statements are made. One reads under the heading, "The Evaluation of Jesuit Education," the following with its protective disclaimers and loopholes:

The value which one sets upon the work of the Jesuits depends upon the estimate he puts upon the type of moral and intellectual training for which they stand. Jesuit schools turn out men who read and speak correct and fluent Latin; men who are devoted to the Roman Catholic faith and practice; men who are disciplined and loyal to the ideals of the order; men who do competent work in mathematics and science. They maintain and perpetuate ancient ways of thinking and acting. Those who regard such achievements as proper objectives of an educational system must admire the Jesuit schools. It has been claimed, on the other hand, that these schools subject their pupils to a discipline which has the effect of limiting the development of individuality; that they have not kept pace with modern science; that a truly liberal training is not possible in schools which so carefully censor the reading and thinking of their pupils; and, finally, that the contributions of the Society to science and to the liberal and fine arts are not so numerous or significant as might justly be expected from an organization so large and so old.

The preceding seven pages of description do not furnish a basis for this evaluation.

Let me turn to one other illustration from this book: the description of the "Revolt against Christianity" during the French Enlightenment:

It will be recalled that, largely because of political machinations, France had turned savagely against the Calvinistic reformation of the 16th century. On the other hand, it yielded to the influence of the Catholic counter-reformation, and, as a consequence, the religious life and most of education came under the control of the Jesuit Order. The Jesuits utilized the power which they exerted over the French King and his agents to eliminate or subordinate all other religious influences to their own. At a time when the spirit of toleration was slowly putting on strength and gaining recognition in other lands, the King of France promulgated the diabolical revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. Persecution of French Protestants was again let loose. Not until 1762 did the last French execution for heresy take place. Christianity in France meant chiefly the Jesuit Order, which formed the most powerful element in contemporary Roman Catholicism. But Christianity also comprehended the ancient mon-

astic system, which had not been overthrown, as it was in Teutonic lands, and the Church of France, which was loyal at once to the King and the Pope. The Gallic Church had gained a measure of independence but had become extremely formal and corrupt. Nowhere within the confines of the Roman Catholic territory at this time were abuses so heinous and unblushing as in France.

The representatives of Christianity in France were unalterably set against intellectual progress and enlightenment. The close alliance of church and state had produced an abundant crop of evils which only that unholy wedlock is capable of producing. The authority of the church was guaranteed by the state. In return the church sustained the autocracy of the throne by preaching the divine right of kings, and granted absolution to the king and his debauched courtiers for their crimes and petty sins. Both church and state exploited the people without mercy. Their moral rottenness can scarcely be exaggerated. Religion was an empty formalism, and the church, a mistress of all wickedness.

One must be struck and amazed not only by what this paragraph says, but by what it leaves to be inferred. Perhaps this, too, is a loophole through which the authors might escape if they were charged with imputing to the Jesuits all the things which the language and structure of these paragraphs clearly imply.

Obviously such treatment of educational history relating to the Jesuit Order is a challenge to this Institute.

ULTIMATE USE OF MATERIAL IN SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

There is another challenge to the Institute that I shall present briefly. It is based on the hope that the research of the Institute will not remain inert and fruitless in its service to contemporary education. I have intimated that our textbooks used in the training of teachers contain errors. This is notably true about things Catholic as well as things Jesuit. It is true, too, of our high-school textbooks. I hope a division or section of this Institute will be given over to checking all textbooks used in public schools as well as in Catholic schools regarding their treatment of the topics within the scope of the Institute. I hope the Institute will do this work in the spirit that the Westminster Catholic Federation has done its work for the schools of the London County Council as described more fully in a footnote. You will not merely correct clear errors of facts, you will correct half-truths and inuendos and unwarranted inferences. You will do this in the true spirit of scholarship, out of devotion to truth.

As your researches develop, too, I hope that you will make their results available to the children in our schools, elementary

and high, public and Catholic. That means a special section devoted to textbook writing. It will be related to the work outlined in the immediately preceding paragraph. I hope the challenge of this larger opportunity and service you will accept. These points I do not wish to elaborate because he who runs may read.

THE DOMINANCE OF JESUITS IN CATHOLIC EDUCATION

One of the prevailing views of history is that it is the most significant source of the explanation of how the present came to be. It is therefore, too, a significant basis for educational program and policy. The obvious fact about Catholic higher education in the United States is the dominance of the Jesuits in the extent and range of its educational service. The Jesuits' institutions are located in the ten largest states and are to be found in seventeen of the twenty largest cities of the United States. The educational service has obviously gone where there were the largest number of people to serve. These facts are also true if we take the states in the order of their Catholic population, or if we take cities which are the metropolitan cities of the fifteen largest archdioceses.

If we examine the situation with reference to training for the major professions, law, medicine, and dentistry, we shall find that training under Catholic auspices is dominated by the Jesuits. Another significant fact is that there are more young women in Jesuit colleges and universities than there are in Catholic women's colleges of any other religious order or of the sisterhoods.

This is the most significant condition in the contemporary educational situation. It must have developed and it must have had a history. Even in a recent book with the title of *Education in the United States* (by Edgar W. Knight, copyrighted 1934), there is no mention of the Jesuits. This situation is a challenge to this Institute.

CONCLUSION

The challenge to the Institute which I have suggested is largely from the standpoint of educational history and service rather than from the purely historical approach. It seems to me that whatever the immediate scope of the Institute, it must ultimately include in its working program the aspects of social and educational history here indicated. I enjoyed writing this paper because I like to see in beginnings the rich fruition that is possible and in order that germinal ideas and tendencies toward such an end shall be encouraged. I was glad of the oppor-

tunity to present this paper because of my anxiety to help stop the continual supply of misinformation and misinterpretation to the thousands of teachers in our public schools as well as those in our Catholic schools who in their teacher training period use such textbooks as I have quoted. I should like also to see the day when the children of America are given historical information in their textbooks which present accurately the Catholic Church in general, and the Jesuit Order in particular, in their milieu. It is a great opportunity you have at Loyola and I congratulate you with all my heart as you start off on this great enterprise.

EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK

A Jesuit Westward Movement

Apart from the gift to men of the Gospel message nothing more epoch-making has come to pass in the tide of times than the finding of the New World in the last decade of the fifteenth century. Almost overnight the world became western-minded. Adventure, trade, lust for empire, missionary zeal, all the inquisitive and all the acquisitive spirit of man turned with abruptness in the direction of the setting sun. No longer was the Orient to monopolize the mysterious charm that attaches, or seems to attach, to geographical remoteness. The Occident, emerging of a sudden from pre-historic gloom, had come to share the charm and for generations to come there was to be magic and allurements in its name. Not only did the secular spirit come under the spell of the West. If uncharted seas and unvisited lands were a challenge to mariners, adventurers, land-grabbers, *conquistadores*, no less were they a challenge to the soldiers of the Cross, who envisaged in the strange world overseas new territory to annex to the kingdom of Christ. And so to the New World they came, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and other missionary groups eager to serve the aborigines in religious and humanitarian ways and lend themselves with what success they might to the upbuilding of Church and State.

In New France the Society of Jesus inaugurated its work in 1611, setting up a mission-post in that year in Acadia, the present Nova Scotia. Four years later, in 1615, it was at Quebec, which was to remain the headquarters of its missionary efforts in Canada and the Great Lakes region for a hundred and fifty years to come. From the first the front of the missionary advance faced west. The circumstance overflows with significance for it made of these pioneers of the Cross, pioneers at the same time of the wilderness, pathfinders, discoverers, explorers. It is interesting to note how promptly and to what a degree the West entered into Jesuit missionary plans and programs. In 1641 St. Isaac Jogues and a fellow-Jesuit, Charles Raymbaut, were at Sault-Ste-Marie, the first of their order to penetrate the territory which is now the Middle United States. From Sault-Ste-Marie, as a contemporary relation attests, their eyes turned wistfully to the Sioux country of the still more distant West, whither they dreamed of one day bearing the Gospel message. Thirty-two years later than his inauguration of Jesuit mission-

ary enterprise in the heart of America Jacques Marquette in his historic descent of the Mississippi, 1673, found himself at the mouth of its majestic tributary, the Missouri. The fabulous sweep of the territory it drained held his imagination in thrall. From the Indians he learned that its upper reaches nearly interlocked with those of another mighty waterway, which one might descend to the Gulf of California. Thus did the whole trans-Mississippi West swim into his ken, and his adventurous zeal leaped at once to a dream of missionary enterprise in that direction at some future day.

Jolliet and Marquette's discovery of the Missouri was nearly a half century old when Francois Xavier Charlevoix, under commission from the French government to solve, if he might, the classic problem of a trans-continental trade route to the Western Sea, or the Pacific Ocean, found himself, too, at the mouth of the Missouri. "I believe this is the finest confluence in the world," he exclaimed. "The Missouri seems to enter the Mississippi like a conquerer." Charlevoix's conclusion was that up the Missouri, across a mountain-chain and down another great watercourse, this one westward flowing, was a likely route to the Western Sea and so to the Orient and he reported in this sense to Versailles. It was the route taken by Lewis and Clark some eighty years later in their epic overland expedition which at last plucked the heart out of the mystery of the West by opening up the Missouri-Rocky Mountain-Columbia line of communication with Pacific waters. The search for the Western Sea was at an end and one of the most fascinating problems in the whole history of exploration laid to rest.

The truth, then, is that Jesuit preoccupation with the American West is an old story. Only recently Doctor Louise Phelps Kellogg has told us that the Jesuits "were the first historians of the westward movement." To Jogues, Marquette, Charlevoix, and their confreres of New France generally the illimitable reaches of territory that lay toward the Mississippi and beyond had all the appeal of a superlatively inviting field for their missionary tasks. The fact is an interesting one for it lets us know that when a nineteenth-century group of Jesuits left their home in the Chesapeake Bay region for a new one in the Mississippi Valley they were in a tradition left them as an heirloom by western-minded Jesuits of an earlier day. Charlevoix, to repeat, had pointed the way to the Pacific, Lewis and Clark put the way to the test and found it correct. At St. Louis, Clark in his later

days discussed ways and means of uplifting the Indians with the Jesuit priest who inaugurated the work of the new Society of Jesus in the Middle West. It is this work which I purpose to sketch out in brief, as well in its heroic beginnings as in its ripened growth.

At St. Clement's Isle in the Potomac, March 25, 1634, a group of English emigrants, part gentlemen adventurers, part laborers, having made a landing after a perilous crossing of the high seas, proceeded to lay the foundations of the colony of Maryland. At their head was Leonard Calvert, governor of the colony and proxy of his brother Cecil, Lord Baltimore, proprietary of the new commonwealth under a charter extraordinarily rich in privileges and grants. With the colonists arrived a group of English Jesuits under Father Andrew White as superior, the first of their order to labor in the English-speaking colonies of the New World. What was done by them and their successors on behalf of whites and Indians alike down to the day when the Society of Jesus succumbed to the temporary death of the Suppression is a story not unworthy of the best traditions of the followers of Loyola; but we shall not rehearse the story here. The thirty Jesuit priests engaged in the Maryland field acquiesced with loyalty in that painful measure, remained at their posts where they continued their ministry as members of the secular clergy, and looked forward to a possible re-establishment of the order. The re-establishment came, first informally in 1805, then formally and solemnly in 1814, when Pius VII set the Society of Jesus again on its feet throughout the Christian world.

In Maryland the new Society of Jesus began its career under depressing handicaps. A few members of the old society and a handful of novices made up its personnel. There was no tradition of service to the Church in what is technically known as the religious life abroad at the moment in the Catholic population of the states, and hence few youths of native stock sought admission into the Jesuit ranks. These had accordingly to be recruited for the most part from overseas. In the spring of 1823 all the scholastic candidates enrolled in the Jesuit novitiate at White Marsh, Prince George's County, Maryland, were Belgians, more specifically, Flemings, as was also the master of novices, Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne. The novices had crossed in a body from their native Flanders in 1821. Van Quickenborne had crossed four years before. It was all new blood, invigorating blood, it may be added, infused into the age-worn veins of the native American Jesuit stock. What amazes

one in the career of these men of foreign birth is the readiness with which they adjusted themselves to American ways and took up, in matters that did not run counter to their religious beliefs or rule of life, the conventional American point of view. In the United States in the earlier decades of the last century the process of the melting-pot was still very much an untried experiment and one might not easily forecast in what manner of success it was to issue. But the potentialities of Americanization latent in the Belgian group resident at White Marsh in the early eighteen-twenties were immense, as the event proved. Their participation in the American scene was marked, if it was marked by anything, by the success with which they bore themselves in the land of their adoption as to the manor born, speaking its language with fluency and skill, sharing its hopes and fears, and making its interest in all worthy things identical with their own.

Van Quickenborne was typical of the group. He had been in priest's orders when he attached himself to the Jesuit body and was in the early thirties when we meet him at White Marsh. To his career in the Society he brought with him a previous training not aligned in all respects with Jesuit ways. A streak of rigorism ran through his character and his judgments not seldom betrayed a literalism that was at cross purposes with wise interpretation of the law in face of the exigencies of time and place. But, certain idiosyncrasies of temperament and training apart, he was admirably equipped for the career in store for him. Courage, hardihood, self-effacement, disdain of personal comforts, abounding faith and trust, these were virtues he could draw upon, to be tapped at will as he moved about in the discharge of his untiring ministry. One paramount ambition he carried about with him at all times, the ambition which had brought him overseas, and that was to preach the Gospel to the forlorn Indians. In the event circumstances shaped themselves into a realization of his dream. For a brief spell the White Marsh noviceship managed to live, but it was only from hand to mouth, in the end all financial resources melted away, and the Maryland Jesuits, at their wits end how to keep the institution open, decided to close it and dismiss the novices. But it befell that scarcely had the fateful decision been taken when there appeared on the scene an American prelate who gave to the distressing situation an issue as felicitous as it was unforeseen. In this story the name of Louis William Valentine Du Bourg, sec-

ond bishop of Louisiana and the Floridas, looms large. More than anyone else he was the human agent chiefly instrumental in inaugurating the work of the new Society of Jesus in the Middle United States. He was a Creole of Santo Domingo, French-trained and equipped with all the courtesies and refinements of the *ancien régime*. Ardent, versatile, forward-looking, not too practical in the administration of affairs, he had, in fine, in no little measure the temper of the dreamer, whose dreams, however, it is pleasant to be able to say with truth, in more instances than one came true.

*The dreamer lives forever
And the toiler dies in a day.*

What then was the solution which Bishop Du Bourg now brought to the White Marsh problem? He proposed a transfer of the noviceship and its personnel to Florissant, Missouri, a Franco-Spanish settlement some sixteen miles out of St. Louis. Here he would cede to the Jesuits a beautiful and spacious property; here he would have them open an Indian school; here he would have them set up a center of operations for a vast program of missionary endeavor on behalf of the Indians and the whites of his diocese, territorially as far-flung as the Louisiana Purchase itself. Du Bourg's proposition made instant appeal to the Jesuit Marylanders as a ready avenue of escape from the hopeless situation which had developed at the Marsh, and preparations were promptly made to put it into effect.

Up to this juncture the little drama that engages us had been going on wholly behind Jesuit doors; now the action moves to a broader stage, one that had aspects about it of the national. It was a development scarcely to be expected, but two great figures of the day, President James Monroe and Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun became parties to the Jesuit adventure in the West. Bishop Du Bourg had planned a daring thing and one brimful of promise; but he had done so without having at hand the material means wherewith to underwrite it. He was absolutely in need of funds and in his quest for them he turned first to the federal government. Approaching Calhoun, the prelate laid before him his plans for an Indian school with a petition for a government subsidy in its behalf. The matter was referred to Monroe, who gave his approval and the subsidy, a very modest one, was granted. When the question of missionaries for the Indians came up, the secretary quite on his own account sug-

gested to Du Bourg that he obtain Jesuits for this rôle. It was an extraordinary thing, the Bishop thought, that this non-Catholic official should make a suggestion of the sort, especially as it followed a similar suggestion made to him by Pius VII a few years before. With Church and State thus at one in their desire to see the Society of Jesus introduced into the American West, Bishop Du Bourg no doubt felt that he was happy in his choice of co-operators. Calhoun, it may be added, saw in the presence of the Jesuits on the frontier a factor in the preservation of peace in that parlous quarter. "It is believed," he wrote to General William Clark of St. Louis, "that the missionaries will, besides preparing the way for their [the Indians'] ultimate civilization, be useful in preventing the commission of outrages and preserving peace with the tribes among whom they may fix themselves." The evolution of the western project, it must be added, was not to be left to accident or the caprice of anyone concerned. The terms of it, covering the respective rights and duties of the Bishop of New Orleans and the Society of Jesus in the matter, were fixed on paper in an elaborate and impressively worded Concordat, the composition of Father Benedict Fenwick, S. J., second bishop of Boston to be.

The stage was now set for the journey to the West. Accordingly, early on the morning of April 11, 1823, Father Van Quickenborne and his party, consisting of another priest, seven scholastic novices, three coadjutor-brothers, and a group of negro slaves, left White Marsh behind them and struck out on the road to Baltimore. From that city, under date of April 15, Van Quickenborne addressed to Count De Menou, French *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, who had lent his aid in promoting the affair, a brief note, which the count in turn forwarded to Calhoun: "I have the honor to inform your excellency that our band of missionaries passed by this city today on their way to their destination on the Missouri." Of a certainty the public was quite uninformed about this Jesuit expedition now moving west, but to the eager Van Quickenborne, impressed with the circumstance that the expedition had behind it a promise of federal aid, it took on an importance little short of national. "The eyes almost of the entire nation," he wrote from Baltimore to the Father General, "are fixed upon us," and he added: "if the venture succeeds, most abundant fruit can be hoped for. . . . I trust the Lord has used these means to open up for us a very vast field, which is now barren but promises to become highly fertile with the years."

From Baltimore to Wheeling the route followed by the emigrants lay for the most part along the much traveled national pike known as the Cumberland Road, which they negotiated on foot. From Wheeling to Shawneetown in Illinois they descended the Ohio in flatboats, "broadhorns," as they were popularly known; from Shawneetown on they again turned pedestrians, not an agreeable rôle to play along the primitive mud roads of southern Illinois. On Saturday, May 31, at one o'clock in the afternoon, they were ferried across the Mississippi to land in St. Louis, thence to push on for a few miles more to Florissant, the goal of their seven weeks' trek from the Atlantic seaboard.

At St. Louis, last major outpost of the advancing frontier, the Jesuit overlanders found themselves on one rim of civilized America. Fifty-nine years had passed since Pierre Laclede and Auguste Chouteau had planted here on the banks of the mid-Mississippi the trading post that was to develop into the last American city of metropolitan proportions founded under the auspices of the fleur-de-lis. Here nineteen years before, in the historic ceremony of the three flags, the vast trans-Mississippi west had come under the Stars and Stripes. Hither seventeen years before had returned Lewis and Clark after their unforgettable adventure to the mouth of the Columbia. But other landmarks in the history of the frontier still remained to be written into the record. The Oregon Trail was yet unheard of, and eight years were to elapse before the first wagon train to utilize the historic highway left St. Louis, 1831, for the foot of the Rockies. Briefly, the history of the frontier pivots in large measure around St. Louis. The circumstance is not without bearing on the theme in hand. Here at St. Louis for a century and more was to be the administrative headquarters of the mid-western Jesuits. The charm and color that make themselves felt in the secular chronicle of the winning of the West were also to be felt in measure in the record of their activities on the stage of the frontier. That record was likewise to catch the frontier notes of adventure, pluck, enterprise, sacrifice, manly wrestling with the wilderness.

The Jesuit mission on the far side of the Mississippi was now an accomplished fact. It remained for its personnel to attack the program of work outlined for them in the East. Over-shadowing every other phase of endeavor in that program was endeavor on behalf of the Indians. The mission, as a Jesuit gen-

eral once insisted, was set on foot primarily for the Indians, and it was, it may be noted here, the first mission for the Indians anywhere to be established by the Society of Jesus after its restoration in 1814. Happily, the execution of the program was in good hands. Father Van Quickenborne was not unmindful of the obligation to the red man which the Society had assumed. He sought to discharge them, first, by the opening of the Indian school at Florissant, which hardly got beyond the experimental stage and for reasons which we cannot enter into here proved in the end a token of good intentions in the cause, rather than of noteworthy results achieved. A more serious step was taken with the establishment in 1836 of a mission-post among the Kickapoo in the immediate vicinity of Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri. On June 1 of that year, a century ago this present month, Van Quickenborne arrived with a missionary staff in the locality, the chapel which he built there being the first Catholic house of worship to rise on soil which is now the state of Kansas. But the Kickapoo mission, like the Indian school before it, came to a premature end. Both ventures had circumstances against them and were all but sterile of result. Neither was to be the measure of the success achieved by the western Jesuits on behalf of the aborigines.

Meantime, as a diversion from his major concern, which was ever with the Indians, Van Quickenborne opened, in 1829, a college in St. Louis, which developed into the St. Louis University of today. Significantly enough, he represented to the superior in Maryland, for the Missouri Jesuits were to remain subject to the latter's jurisdiction until 1832, that what chiefly commended the project of a school in St. Louis was the aid it would lend him in furthering his plans for an Indian mission. Meantime, too, ministerial service was being dispensed to the whites to the full extent that the slender Jesuit personnel allowed. Beginning with the early thirties, or earlier, eighteen Missouri-River towns that stretched out across the state almost to the Kansas line were being visited at intervals during the year in regular circuits of three or four weeks duration. Also there were periodical ministerial trips into Illinois, Iowa, and the northeastern counties of Missouri. The earliest Catholic baptisms at various points in these areas were administered by Van Quickenborne. To this indefatigable clergyman, in fine, is to be ascribed an impressive series of authenticated first things in the history of the Catholic Church in the early Middle West. There was no Catholic house

of worship in Kansas, as already told, before he set up his little chapel among the Kickapoo. The earliest marriages of record on the site of Kansas City, Missouri, were performed by him. No Catholic baptisms are certified for Kansas prior to those which he administered among the Osage in the summer of 1827. In ever so many directions he was the pioneer missionary of his day, the trail-blazer of the Gospel, and his name remains securely linked with the beginnings of the Catholic Church on the frontier in the twenties and thirties of the century past. The sands of his life ran out abruptly at Portage des Sioux, Missouri, August 17, 1837, when he was only fifty; but he was a spent force, worn out before his time with the toils of an eager and absorbing ministry. The historian, John Gilmary Shea, has penned this tribute: "To Father Van Quickenborne, as the founder of the vice-province of Missouri and the Indian mission, too little honor has been paid. His name is almost unknown, yet few have contributed more to the edification of the white and the civilization of the red man, to the sanctification of all."

It is opportune to note at this juncture the circumstance that the field of operations of the western Jesuits, whose fortunes we are following, was delimited with the utmost precision in the Concordat. If the field assigned them therein was sweeping to a degree, it was, withal, set within unmistakably clear-cut bounds. It was, briefly, the water-shed or valley of the Missouri River in all its length and breadth, from the environs of St. Louis to the slopes of the Rockies. Bishop Du Bourg, so an article of the Concordat runs in majestic terms, "cedes and surrenders to the Society of Jesus forever, as soon and in proportion as its increase of members enables it to undertake the same, the absolute and exclusive care of all the missions already established, and which shall be hereafter established on the Missouri River and its tributary streams." Curious to say, St. Louis itself, as lying outside the Missouri watershed, was not included in the field of operations thus assigned by the Concordat to the western Jesuits, a circumstance which did not escape the notice of Father Peter Kenney when he arrived in St. Louis in 1832 as visitor of the Jesuit outposts in the West. Kenney was a Dublin Jesuit of distinction in the field of education, who had crossed verbal swords with Sir Robert Peel in a parliamentary hearing, and whose appointment to one episcopal see after the other had been sought in Ireland and the United States. At St. Louis the Concordat was placed in Father Kenney's hands. From its contents

he understood that the college opened by the Jesuits in that city in 1829 lay outside the territorial field they were commissioned to cultivate in virtue of the covenant and he was for closing the institution on this and other grounds. But the Concordat, as things turned out, became the merest scrap of paper. It was framed with naive disregard of conditions in the West present or to come. No single religious order could reasonably have been expected to shoulder the tremendous responsibilities it placed upon the Jesuits, and in the end, by sheer force of circumstances, the grandiose instrument became inoperative. But if the letter of it went by the board, the spirit of it lived on in the work of Van Quickenborne and his successors. That spirit envisaged the winning of the West for Christ in whatever measure heaven might allow, and to this high purpose the Jesuits of the Middle West were to dedicate themselves throughout the years.

When Father Van Quickenborne lay dying in the August of 1837, he sent for a fellow priest to whom he confided the circumstance that he had one time received "from on high" an interior assurance to the effect that during his life-time work among the Indians would prove a failure, but after his death, to use his own word, would "flourish." The assurance was borne out by the event. With increasing personnel and material means, various projects in the Indian mission-field were gradually taken in hand with a measure of success at least striking enough to impress government officers, travelers, and other contemporaries and meet with appreciative record in the frontier history of the West. Such, in particular, were the missions among the Osage, Potawatomi and Rocky Mountain tribes. These overshadow in interest any others in the same field sponsored from the St. Louis headquarters of the Jesuits.

The Osage were scattered along the Neosho and other streams in what is now southeastern Kansas. The first Jesuit approach to them was made by Van Quickenborne, who had children of the tribe in the school at Florissant, and who personally visited the Osage villages more than once. From 1847 until late in the sixties, Jesuit missionaries were at work among them. No great impression was made on the adult Osage; but work with the children in the schools issued in results so interesting as to elicit comment, often enthusiastic, from the Osage agents in their reports to Washington. Around two names in particular, those of Fathers John Schoenmakers and Paul Ponziglione, the history of the mission is written; they are still names to conjure

with among contemporary folk in southern Kansas. What Schoenmakers did for the Indians was paralleled by the services in a ministerial way rendered by Ponziglione to the whites who came to settle in the vicinity of the mission and beyond it to the western and southern limits of the state. He was the circuit-rider, the traveling missionary complete. Eighteen Kansas counties shared his ministry, which carried him along the Santa Fé Trail into Colorado and south beyond the Kansas line into what is now Oklahoma.

Jesuit missionary effort on behalf of the Potawatomi dates as far back as the eighteenth century. They were an historic tribe with divers interesting associations with Chicago, the site of which they ceded to the government in the Treaty of Greenville, 1795. Seventeen years later, in 1812, they perpetrated the Fort Dearborn Massacre, and twenty-one years after the tragedy, in the Chicago Treaty of 1833, they sold, again to the government, the last of the millions of acres they traditionally held in Wisconsin and Illinois. On an August day, 1835, they took leave of Chicago, passing in dramatic fashion through its streets with war-whoop and savage dance. The following month they were on their way to their new reservation in western Iowa, but before settling thereon, they tarried for a while in the Platte Purchase. Here Father Van Quickenborne met them in the September of 1837, baptizing their children and interviewing the warriors and mixed-bloods. Probably he saw no particular significance in the circumstance, if known to him at all, that he was dealing with a group of ex-residents of Chicago or its vicinity, the names of some of whom appear on the poll-book of the election of 1826, the first in the history of the metropolis. Moving up at last into their new reservation around Council Bluffs on the Iowa side of the Missouri, the Potawatami were served here during the period 1838-1841 by resident Jesuit priests. Meantime, other bands of the same tribe, these from Indiana, had settled on the headwaters of the Osage River in what is now southeastern Kansas, where, like their fellow tribesmen of the north, they received during the decade 1838-1848 the ministrations of resident Jesuit pastors. Finally, in 1848, the two groups, the Council Bluffs or Chicago Potawatami and the Potawatami of Indiana were brought together on a common reserve on the Kaw or Kansas River, the east line of which ran a few miles west of Topeka. Here, for two decades the Potawatami were piloted along the ways of moral and economic well-being by the

Jesuits of St. Mary's, the mission-post erected by them at the geographic center of the new reserve, and the hub of the little Indian world conjured up by governmental agency on the banks of the Kaw.

The buildings lay a stone's throw from a highway that formed a link of the Oregon and California Trail. For years they looked out on a steady tide of traffic and travel westward bound—explorers, soldiers, traders, prospectors, gold-seekers, homesteaders, pack-animals, ox-carts, covered wagons. Here in 1851 came John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder, to purchase supplies at the mission, leaving on record in his diary a notable tribute to the work of the fathers. Here in 1859 passed Horace Greeley, riding in a mule-drawn stage, the first to negotiate the nearly seven hundred miles between Leavenworth and Denver, a feat which it took ten days to accomplish. Greeley, too, had his word of encomium for the mission. Here at St. Mary's the fathers had dealings with Potawatami, full or mixed-blood, whose names show some or other link with Chicago history. Of these were Menard Beaubien, whose father, Jean Baptiste Beaubien, lay claim in a *cause célèbre* to a choice section of downtown Chicago; Chief Halfday, whose name lives on in a village on the Chicago-Milwaukee auto highway; Pierre Le Clerc, who was present at the Fort Dearborn Massacre and in the capacity of interpreter arranged the terms of the surrender. The schools flourished to a degree. Year after year the reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs gave ready testimony to what was being done for the Potawatami youths in the way of bringing the blessings of the white man's education within their reach. But the farm was scarcely less interesting than the schools. Crops were sown, fences built, hogs and cattle raised, dairy stock built up on a large scale, and all this in days when Kansas scarcely boasted a white settlement within its four sides. As a mission institution the farm served two great ends; it supplied needed economic support, and it set before the Indians an object lesson in the age-old secrets of eliciting sustenance and wealth from the bosom of Mother Earth. Methods in this agricultural project were by no means primitive; they were singularly up-to-date. As early as 1852 a McCormick reaper, Chicago-made, was cutting grain at St. Mary's, the Indians in stolid amazement looking on. It was the first reaper, so the superior, Father John Duerinck, believed, to operate in Kansas. In the library of the McCormick Historical Association, Chicago, is preserved Father

Duerinck's correspondence with Cyrus McCormick, extolling the merits of the famous invention, but not hesitating to make suggestions for its improvement. The suggestions were apparently worthwhile. McCormick sought to engage Duerinck as his agent in Kansas Territory, but the good Father begged to be excused from so secular an employment. And so Jesuit concern for the economic as well as religious uplift of the Potawatami ran its interesting and rather prosperous course until late in the sixties, when the reservation was sectionized and the Indians moved away, most of them into the new lands staked out for them in the present Oklahoma.

The Osage and the Potawatami missions never achieved widespread fame; public interest in them, even in Catholic circles, was at no time more than local or regional. The Rocky Mountain missions were in different case. Thanks to the published letters of that intriguing personality, Father Peter De Smet, founder of those missions and their indefatigable promoter, this substantial missionary achievement of the western Jesuits became as familiarly known to large sections of the reading public of Europe as it was in the United States. The beginnings of the Rocky Mountain missions wear a garment of romance. The story of the long trek of a trio of Indians from their mountain home to St. Louis to obtain "the white man's book," the Bible, is classic in the history of the frontier. Critical research has long since discarded the story as a palpable myth; but it accomplished its purpose in setting up a missionary movement towards the Oregon country. Indian deputations from the Rockies to St. Louis to solicit missionaries there certainly were. The response to the solicitations was made on the Catholic side through Peter De Smet and his associates. In 1840 he was out to the mountains over the Oregon Trail on a reconnaissance. The next year he traversed the trail a second time, heading a band of missionaries toward the Rockies and beyond. The whole Oregon country, which ran from the Continental Divide to the Pacific, now loomed up before them as an alluring mission field of almost limitless extent and ambitious plans for its systematic working were eagerly sketched out. The plans in their entirety proved a pious dream, but not a few major successes were scored, and the net result of this elaborate missionary effort of the Society of Jesus in the Pacific Northwest remained in the end a visible gain to civilization and the Church. One by one, the more important of the tribes saw a mission-post set up in

their midst: the Flatheads in 1841, the Coeur d'Alenes in 1842, the Kalispels or Pend' Oreilles in 1844. By 1844 the movement had spread to lower Oregon. In that year on the Willamette Above the site of Portland, De Smet opened what he hoped in his sanguine way would become with the years a headquarters and center of supplies for the farflung network of missions which he planned. Soon the California country was brought within the periphery of the Oregon missions. In 1849 a pair of Oregonian Jesuits set foot in San Francisco and two years later, in 1851, they opened Santa Clara College, remaining all the while under the jurisdiction of St. Louis and taking orders from that quarter. So had the Jesuit western movement of the nineteenth century spanned the continent, from Maryland to St. Louis, from St. Louis to the Rockies and the Oregon Country, and thence to the Golden Gate and the Santa Clara Valley. Men of the Society of Jesus were now for the first time at work north of the Colorado in the alluring land of promise of Alta California, which had beckoned in vain to Kino and Salvatierra a hundred and fifty years before.

In the movement that brought the St. Louis Jesuits to the Pacific coast the most compelling figure is Father De Smet. The history of Jesuit missionary enterprise in the Rocky Mountain region in its romantic beginnings, if not in its mature development, centers around his name and is symbolized by it. His ascendancy over the Indians is a living tradition to this day. "No man knows the Indians as Father De Smet," so Thurlow Weed assured President Lincoln, "nor has any man their confidence in the same degree." As go-between in the troubles that came and went between the government and the Indians of the West he met with one success after another. Few incidents in American history are more dramatic than his expedition of 1868 to Sitting Bull's camp on Powder River. With the frontier, that "most American thing in all America," his associations were intimate and long-continued; they stand out as a highly arresting feature of his career. He made personal contact with numerous historic figures of the frontier era, among them, John McLoughlin, James Bridger, John Mullen, Alexander Culbertson, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Robert Campbell. His biographers, Chittenden and Richardson, note that the student of the early West is repeatedly crossing the De Smet trail from St. Louis to the Straits of Juan de la Fuca. The same biographers set down as their summary estimate of De Smet, that he is "an august figure in our

national history." And Clarence Walworth Alvord wrote in 1918: "the names of Father De Smet and his associates should be, though they are not, household words in American history."

Needless to say, no lure of free land in the West had drawn on these pioneers of the Cross. They kept pace with the moving territorial frontier, but at no time were they looking westward through Turnerian spectacles. The most talked of hypothesis in American historiography has justified itself, at least to the extent that it has put the West, and incontestably so, on the historian's map, where before it had been a blank; but daily it becomes more evident that the whole story of the infinite output of energy, adventure, and sacrifice that went to the making of the West is not to be circumscribed in economic terms. The quest for land and like material things was indubitably a factor in the process; but the imponderables also counted for much. Behind the march of Van Quickenborne and his followers across the continent was the motive of religious faith and that which sprang from it, the impulse to build up along their paths a spiritual commonwealth not made with hands.

So much for the high lights in the trans-Mississippi phase of the western Jesuit advance that began from Maryland in 1823. But it would be a misapprehension of the facts to suppose that the area in which the advance was staged lay entirely west of the Mississippi. Students of Turner's theory know he does not overlook the fact that when the advancing frontier had reached the Pacific, it doubled back on itself after a spell and took an eastern or northerly course towards the gold fields of Idaho and Montana. In similar fashion the front of the Jesuit advance was not always facing west. A time came when, like the territorial frontier, it reversed directions; it recrossed the Mississippi, and penetrated states that lie to the east of the great mid-continental stream. This phase of the Jesuit advance was not missionary in its scope; it was distinctly educational. It produced, not mission-posts in the wilderness, but colleges and universities in the populous cities. The result was that by the sixties and seventies, and even earlier, the bulk of the Jesuit personnel in the West was engaged in instructing, not Indian boys or their elders, but sons of the white population of the country. In 1840 the Jesuits were in Cincinnati, where they took over the Athenaeum, developing it into the present Xavier University. In 1856 they were in Milwaukee, beginning to prepare the way through schools of primary and secondary grade for Marquette University. The fol-

lowing year they were in Chicago, engaging in ministerial work on a major scale and in time gradually working forward to the opening of St. Ignatius College in 1870 and Loyola University in 1909. Detroit was reached in 1877 and a college promptly founded there, to evolve with the years into Detroit University. Later, the educational field cultivated by the mid-western Jesuits east of the Mississippi opened out still wider with the accession to their jurisdiction of colleges of the order previously established in Cleveland, Toledo, and Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin. Meantime, west of the Mississippi new institutions of collegiate grade were gradually taken in hand: at St. Marys, Kansas, in 1869; at Omaha in 1878, where Creighton University was the outcome; at Kansas City, Missouri, in 1914; at Denver in 1919.

Almost everywhere they went these Jesuits of the newer line touched ground associated in some or other way with their Jesuit predecessors of earlier centuries. Father Bonsecamps of Quebec had passed the site of Cincinnati with Celoron in 1749, later giving to the world the earliest map of the Ohio region. Marquette had journeyed over the site of Milwaukee and given the place a notice in his journal. With Chicago he is forever identified as its first known white resident, (a distinction he shares of course with his two companions), its earliest clergyman, the author of the first extant written composition penned within its limits. Here, too, at Chicago, at the turn of the seventeenth century, was a Jesuit mission-post, the first civilizing institution to arise on the site of the future metropolis. At Detroit there were memories of Charlevoix, of La Richardie, of Du Jaunay and his part in saving the garrison in Pontiac's war. Then, too, had not Louis XIV declared his wish that "the mission of Detroit be served by the Jesuit Fathers?" In fine, had not the names Kansas, Osage, Omaha made their first appearance in written record on Marquette's holograph map?

Probably what strikes one most in the history of the Society of Jesus in the Middle United States is the numerous and diversified lines along which its energies had been deployed. The objective in all cases is the same, the otherworldly one of God's greater glory; but the approach to this objective has been from this direction and that, and along disparate ways. The activities pursued run the whole gamut of religious, educational and humanitarian service. The record of them presents a curiously composite picture of universities, colleges, high schools, grade

schools, the parochial ministry, missionary revivals, spiritual retreats, lecture courses, books, pamphlets, magazines, work among the aborigines of the American West, Central American, the East Indies, work, too, among negroes, deaf-mutes, homeless boys, hospital patients, and inmates of jails and other public institutions. Hardly any form of zealous, apostolic endeavor by which the great objectives of the divine glory and the good of souls could be realized has been left untried. It is this kaleidoscopic variety of pursuit which, among other factors, lends interest to the story of the mid-western Jesuits. And so to this day these men of the Society of Jesus carry on, pressing forward to the things of eternity and looking behind, if it be permitted one of their number to say so, at a sizeable measure of accomplishment, the grain garnered during the years in the western movement that began on the day, now a hundred and fifteen years old, when Van Quickenborne and his novices left their Maryland home behind them, their faces turned to the trans-Mississippi West.

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A Jesuit Circuit Rider

One clear morning in November, 1847, two priests appeared at the porter's lodge in the Jesuit College of Genoa. To the scholastic who was in the room and who happened to be the assistant minister of the house, the strangers introduced themselves as Father Anthony Elet and Father Thomas Mulledy from America.¹ The meeting was fraught with significance. Before evening, Father Elet had invited the scholastic, Paul Mary Ponziglione, to St. Louis. Though willing to go if sent, he showed no feverish enthusiasm at the suggestion. A few weeks later, word came that the Father General had placed his name on the list of those who might go to the Province of Missouri. Before leaving for America, he was to experience the dangers of the Italian Revolution of 1848.

During the Christmas holidays of 1847, the scholastic was walking in the college garden and noticed in a neglected corner an iron gate half hidden by bushes. The gate was locked. After having two keys made he induced a lay brother to accompany him on an exploring trip. Unlocking the gate, they entered an underground corridor, which brought them to a second gate opening on a street that led to a nearby fort. At the end of the street was a third and larger gate watched by a sentry. The scholastic reported the find to the Rector, who seemed pleased at the discovery, as the Jesuits were living in daily dread of an attack by the revolutionists.

Just about two months later at eight o'clock on the night of February 28, screams of "Death of the Jesuits" were heard outside the college. When some of the more violent of the crowd tried to force the main portal with a long beam, an alarm was given and the priests, brothers and students escaped through the recently discovered tunnel.² Paul Mary Ponziglione remained at the college with a servant and two lay brothers, one of whom was helpless, old and ill.

At one o'clock the following morning the scholastic was

¹ Father Anthony Elet was Vice-Provincial of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus. Father Thomas Mulledy was Procurator of the Maryland Province.

² P. M. Ponziglione, S. J., *Missionary Chronicle*, Part I, Chapter 1. (Hereinafter referred to as *Miss. Chron.*)

Unless otherwise indicated the material in this paper has been taken from the manuscript *Writings* of Father Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J., which are to be found in the Archives of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus at St. Louis University.

forced to leave the college to go to the Governor's Palace, where he found himself in the presence of eighteen³ elderly Jesuit Fathers from the Professed House. They had been arrested the preceding night. At two o'clock they were all summoned to the palace courtyard, surrounded by a company of soldiers, and marched down to the harbor to be put aboard the frigate *San Michele*. For three days they were kept prisoners in a narrow, dingy cellar in the hull of the vessel, then transferred to a steamer which brought them to the gulf of Spezia. Their landing was greeted with cries "Death to the Jesuits" accompanied by a volley of mud and rocks. The group was hurried through the mob to some waiting carriages, which under an escort of six cavalymen conveyed them to the border of the Duchy of Modena.⁴

With funds provided by a friend whom he met at Pietra Santa, Paul reached Rome on March 7, 1848.⁵ He spent the next few weeks in preparation for Holy Orders, and on March 25, 1848, he was ordained. At the end of May just before leaving Italy for America he stopped at Turin.⁶ This was a final farewell to the land of his birth. In the fifty-two years that remained to him of life, he was never again to see his native land.

To the south of Turin is the city of Cherasco where Paul Mary Ponziglione was born, February 11, 1818. There dwelt his parents, Count Felice and Countess Luigia Ferrero Ponziglione di Borgo d'Ales. His mother before her marriage was the Marchioness Ferrari di Castelnuovo. His father, for many years the mayor of Cherasco, lived on his revenues and devoted his time to his family and classical literature.⁷

At the age of ten, Paul entered the Royal College of Novara and later that of Turin. On receiving his degree at the University of Turin he began the study of jurisprudence which was interrupted by his entrance into the Jesuit Novitiate at Chieri near Turin on February 27, 1839.⁸

Nine years passed quickly and Paul Mary Ponziglione, now a Jesuit priest, was once again in Turin, this time to say a final farewell. He must not have lingered long at his old home, for

³ *Woodstock Letters*, 29:16, gives sixteen for the number arrested. (Hereinafter referred to as *W. L.*)

⁴ P. M. Ponziglione, S. J., *Western Mission Journal*, 10:37. (Hereinafter referred to as *WMJ.*)

⁵ *Miss. Chron.*, p. 18.

⁶ *WMJ.*, 10:38.

⁷ Ponziglione to John Guthrie, June 12, 1891.

⁸ W. W. Hill, S. J., "Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J.," *W. L.*, 30:50.

he was in Rome in the early part of June, and on the nineteenth of that month was embarking from Havre for New York. At that time there was no regular steamer and Father Ponziglione crossed the Atlantic in a sailing vessel. Forty-eight days of traveling amid the dangers of severe storms and a smallpox epidemic came to an end with his arrival in New York on August 5.⁹

Such was the European background of a Jesuit whose career in the United States was to be an index to various phases of American development between 1850 and 1900. As one reads of his journey from New York to Cincinnati there is unfolded a panoramic view of transportation in the late forties. He journeyed up the Hudson from New York to Albany in an "elegant" steamboat and then by a "dirty" canal boat to Buffalo; a steamboat carried him over Lake Erie to Sandusky, where passage was taken on a railroad construction train to Cincinnati. After a month's respite in the College of St. Xavier, Father Ponziglione went to St. Louis. There he began the study of moral theology together with several German scholastics, refugees from the Jesuit College in Fribourg.¹⁰ With the removal of the Scholasticate in July, 1849, Father Ponziglione completed his studies at Florissant, Missouri. At the same time he was subminister and served as assistant to the Pastor of the Church of St. Ferdinand.¹¹ In the following year he was appointed assistant to the pastor of St. Joseph's College Church, Bardstown, Kentucky. He helped occasionally at the College by presiding during study hours. In his zeal to learn English he asked to read to the other Jesuits during meals in the refectory. Often his ludicrous mistakes afforded not a little merriment, but no one enjoyed these laughs more heartily than he.¹²

It was while at Bardstown in March, 1851, that Father Ponziglione was requested to accompany to the Kansas missions his old friend John Baptist Miège, S. J., who had just been consecrated Vicar-Apostolic of the Indian Territory.¹³ This invitation led to his missionary career in the land of the Osage, a nation of some five thousand souls who dwelt along the banks of the Neosho and Verdigris rivers in southeastern Kansas.¹⁴

⁹ *WMJ*, 10:38, and *Miss. Chron.*, I:20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I:27.

¹² *W. L.*, 30:52.

¹³ *Miss. Chron.*, I:27.

¹⁴ The estimates of the number of Osage in Kansas vary from 2000 to 7000.

To understand the significance of Father Ponziglione's labors it is necessary to grasp the meaning of the word "missionary." Fundamentally, the missionary is a shock trooper who has been sent into a pagan region under the cohesive and directive force of a religious organization in order to spread Christianity. In this work of Christianization his first duty is the preaching of the Gospel; a task not less significant is laying the foundation of a permanent Church. Though the missionary has but one aim, that of gathering souls to Christ, yet in his work he inevitably exercises the functions of a cultural and civilizing agent of the first rank. Through education he raises the intellectual level of his converts. By the doctrine he preaches plus his own influence for good, he ennobles what once was crass, savage, and unmoral. In providing for his own material wants he creates a spirit of industry that is contagious. As a leader in fostering agriculture and cattle raising, he promotes material and economic welfare. In his ministrations to the needy and his care of the sick, he is the harbinger of security and charity in times of distress and misfortune.

Thus it was that Father Ponziglione traveled south of the Santa Fé Trail, offering Mass for a group of white squatters, hearing the confessions of a railroad construction gang, administering the last rites of the Church to the owner of a trading post, or visiting Indians in their wigwams in order to instruct them in the truths of the Faith; thus it was that he performed not only the duties of a priest but also those of a colonizer, a teacher, a physician, an historian, and an ethnologist.

In June, 1851, he reached the Osage country which was to be his world for thirty-eight years—years in which this man of high lineage and gentle rearing rode a circuit of thousands of miles over wind-swept, sun-scorched prairies, across swollen streams, or through blinding snow and pelting rain to spread Christianity, incidentally making history.

In its details his circuit riding was not unlike that of hundreds of other missionaries who had labored on American soil, but in its larger aspects his apostolate was unique. He saw Kansas grow from an Indian camping ground to a state, a development in which he played an important part. In the years before the railroad crossed the prairie his pony traveled over the Indian paths, or his canvas-topped ambulance bumped along the traders' trails. He knew Kansas when it was dotted with Indian wigwams, scattered trading posts, and government forts.

After the territory was opened for settlement he moved among the white pioneers and shared with them the anxiety of droughts, grasshopper plagues, and epidemics. He witnessed the fight for statehood and experienced the attack of border ruffians during the Civil War. At its close he saw the Indians pushed southward beyond the border of the state to make room for on-rushing whites. He was the pioneer who traveled from the Osage Mission to establish missionary stations which became the nuclei of permanent settlements and centers of culture in south-eastern Kansas.

At the time of Father Ponziglione's arrival the Osage Mission had just begun its fourth year of existence. The Mission, under the direction of Father John Schoenmakers, S. J., consisted of a school for Indian boys taught by a secular priest and a Jesuit lay brother, and a school for Indian girls taught by the Sisters of Loretto. The field worker for these schools was a young Jesuit, Father John Bax. He had mastered the Osage tongue, and had a special gift for winning the confidence of the Indians to whose spiritual and temporal welfare he gave his best energies.

Between 1847 and 1852 Father Bax was a familiar figure at the Indian wigwams pitched along the Neosho and Verdigris rivers. Thither he went to win recruits for the Mission schools, to visit the sick, to encourage the Indians to exchange their nomadic life for farming and to embrace Christianity.

In the spring of 1852 an epidemic of measles broke out among the children of the Mission school and spread rapidly throughout all the Osage villages. Father Bax with his knowledge of medicine treated the many Indians who rushed frightened to the Mission, and then he set out for the distant camps to perform at once the office of physician, catechist, and priest. Hardly had the epidemic of measles been checked when the Osage were attacked by scurvy. The death toll of these two epidemics was over eight hundred.¹⁵ Among the victims was Father Bax. Though exhausted and ill he dragged himself for over three months from one infected Indian camp to another. In July he was brought to Fort Scott where he could have medical care. He lingered until August 5; then in the words of his Bishop "he left to receive in Paradise the recompense of the pains and fatigues which have so well filled the five years of his apostolate in the midst of the Indians."¹⁶

¹⁵ Ponziglione, *Memoirs of the Osages and Father John Schoenmakers*, S. J., II:171-75. (Hereinafter referred to as *O. F. S.*)

¹⁶ Miège à Roothaan, August 17, 1852.

The work of Father Bax was carried on by Father Ponziglione, who had to face not only the inevitable hardships of a new task, but also the incredible difficulty of succeeding a man who had been singularly loved by the Osage. But the newcomer rapidly won their confidence. He was invited to their feasts, was a welcome guest in their wigwams, enjoyed the friendship of the chiefs, and was on intimate terms with some few of that recalcitrant clique called medicine men.

In addition to his regular visits to the various Osage towns, Father Ponziglione officiated at most of the baptisms, marriages, and funerals at the Mission church. During the hunting season of the Osage he was given an opportunity to widen his circuit. This tribe lived entirely by the chase. During the two great buffalo hunts each year, one in the spring, the other in the fall, the missionaries were left alone for two, three, or four months with the school children and some half-breed families. At these times Father Ponziglione visited adjacent tribes: the Miami, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Kansa, Quapaw, Ottawa, Chippewa, Sauk, Fox, Wea, Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, and Seneca; or he traveled farther west to the nations in Texas or those bordering on New Mexico.¹⁷

It was during these years that he mastered the Osage tongue and translated into that language the catechism, a prayer book, a portion of the New Testament, some Bible history and an incomplete dictionary.¹⁸ From one Indian village to another, some of which were from fifty to seventy miles apart, he rode, attentive, observant, alert, always eager to acquire a knowledge of Indian customs, to discover the meaning of their rites and ceremonies, or learn the details of their history. By studying their traditions and customs Father Ponziglione came to understand the soul of the Osage and secured a knowledge which enabled him to make points of contact between Christian truths and their pagan religious-moral conceptions. The Indian lore woven into nearly all of his *Writings* record the fruit of his ethnological research.¹⁹

His first missions among the whites synchronized with his labor among the Indians. While riding to and from their camps he visited Catholic white settlers in western Missouri, mechanics

¹⁷ Father Ponziglione visited the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Wichita, Caddo, Kichai, Tonkawa, Comanche, Kiowa whom he found to be attentive listeners but not practical followers of his advice. *WMJ*, 6:24.

¹⁸ *Writings of Father Ponziglione* (IX-P77E).

¹⁹ *The Osages and Father John Schoenmakers* is especially rich in Indian material.

and traders who lived at various trading posts, or were scattered here and there on the Cherokee Neutral Lands. He baptized their children, blessed their marriages, and gave them the opportunity of complying with their religious obligations.

Twice a year he journeyed north from Fort Scott to the Santa Fé Trail, then west along the Wakarusa bottoms to the Sauk and Fox country around the present Council Grove. These trips marked the missionary's first venture in colonization. Along the trail he met the prairie schooners westward bound in search of gold. Among the fortune seekers were many poor families who had crammed their all into a wagon drawn by an ox and a cow, or by two oxen if the family were in better circumstances. Knowing the danger and suffering that lay ahead, Father Ponziglione pointed out to those of scanty means the trap into which they were going by driving beyond the Indian Reserve, and advised them to take up a claim and settle in Kansas. Through his knowledge of the country he could direct them to localities which were fertile and well supplied with timber and water. This unexpected meeting with a priest where they never hoped to find one induced many weary gold-seekers to stake a claim in Kansas.²⁰

On these trips Father Ponziglione used only a saddle horse to which was strapped a pair of saddle bags fitted up with the necessities for the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. A supply of dried biscuits and some slices of smoked meat supplied his own needs. Mealtime was regulated by opportunities for crossing streams where he could moisten the biscuits. When no hospitable cabin was in sight, he slept under the stars with a blanket for covering and a saddle for his pillow.²¹

At certain times, depending on the weather and the purpose of his circuit, Father Ponziglione would use what he called an ambulance, or a white canvas-topped wagon, drawn by Flint and Steel, his span of dun-colored ponies. This mode of travel was especially convenient when securing students on a wholesale scale for the Mission school. From one Indian village to another he drove his ambulance, filling it with the most filthy and neglected boys he could find; just because they were so neglected they needed no coaxing to come to the Mission. On reaching his destination Father Ponziglione, with delighted zest, would unload the wagon of its shaggy occupants and give them to the

²⁰ Brother Patrick Kehoe, S. J., *Biographical Sketch of Father Paul M. Ponziglione, S. J.*, pp. 16-18.

²¹ *Ibid.* and *WMJ*, 6:28.

care of the three lay brothers. The ragamuffins then passed through a frontier clinic. Brother O'Donnell stood each boy in a half-barrel of water (bath tubs were an unheard of luxury), scrubbed him from head to foot, and then passed him on to Brother Kavanagh, the barber. Finally the lad was ready for Brother Lyons, who clothed the Indian, to his great disgust, in white man's attire.²²

The foregoing material is descriptive of the fifties or the golden age of the Osage. The sixties were years that felt the blight of the Civil War. During those years of strife the Mission lay in a difficult position on a neutral strip between Union and Confederate territory. Both Northern and Southern agents parleyed with the Osage for recruits. Regiments of both belligerents marched across the Mission premises. A band of bushwhackers even threatened to kill Father Schoenmakers, who had to flee north to safety at St. Mary's Mission.

A few weeks after Father Schoenmakers' hasty departure, Father Ponziglione, now in charge of the mission,²³ was confronted by a group of six men who surrounded the priest and demanded the confederate officer whom he was hiding. He assured them that the Mission was a United States Government School for Indians and not a shelter for Confederates. The intruders then claimed to be Confederate officers and demanded the surrender of the Union army he was concealing. The priest's laughter at this inconsistency infuriated the leader who leveled a pistol at Father Ponziglione's head. A tragedy was prevented by the arrival of some half-breeds, and it was only at the pleading of Father Ponziglione that his loyal adherents refrained from avenging the honor of the Mission.²⁴

Previous to the outbreak of the war some few of the more valiant Indians had been prevailed upon to take up farming. However, their heroic attempt to follow the white man's road was brought to nought by a diabolic ruthlessness of passing troops who burned their fences and destroyed their fields, leaving these neophyte farmers utterly disheartened. With their farms ruined they picked up their possessions and moved farther west.

When the smoke of battle had cleared away, the Osage returned to their former camping grounds but found them dotted

²² Kehoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

²³ Father Ponziglione had charge of the Mission from June, 1861, to February, 1862. *O. F. S.*, 4:280-97.

²⁴ *O. F. S.*, 4:283.

with the dugout, tent, or cabin of a white squatter. For a time, the Indians resorted to depredation to protect their holdings; but immigration rolled on unchecked, and, finally, convinced of the futility of the struggle, the tribe agreed in a series of treaties to cede to the government their Kansas lands, some 9,000,000 acres, and to move to a reservation in Oklahoma.

With the departure of the Indians in 1869, the Osage Mission entered upon a new era. During the seventies it became a point of attraction for immigrating Catholics and for a large number not of the Faith. White children took the places of the Indians who had withdrawn from the schools. The old buildings were inadequate, and new ones were erected. Two schools were chartered by the Kansas Legislature and were henceforth known as the St. Francis Institution for Boys and St. Ann's Academy. For several years Father Ponziglione was secretary of St. Francis Institution and, later, pastor of the church, but he continued to be pre-eminently a circuit rider.

As the population south of the Santa Fé Trail increased, Father Ponziglione's temporary missionary stations grew into permanent organized communities. Churches which provided for the religious needs of Catholics in more than fifty cities and towns in southern Kansas were established. The manner in which the father began the foundation of a church is of interest because it indicates the secret of his success. Literally speaking, he searched for souls; individuals, lone families, and colonies of them. His zeal, intense and self-forgetful, seemed to be born of a special grace.

The statement that he literally searched for souls is borne out in an incident which happened in mid-August of 1870. Father Ponziglione was in quest of a Catholic settler and his family who lived seven miles east of Eldorado. He rode along Bird Creek until sundown, but found no sign of human habitation. When about to give up the search, he noticed at some distance a man sitting on a rock. Guiding his pony toward the spot the missionary stopped to speak to the man, whom he found ill and almost speechless. The poor fellow, who seemed to revive at the sight of the priest, was Michael McAndrew, the very person for whom Father Ponziglione was looking. The priest was invited to supper, a very frugal meal, served in neither a house, nor a shanty, nor a tent, nor a wagon, because Michael McAndrew, his wife, two daughters, and an infant child lived on the open prairie. Their furniture consisted of a rock oven, some kitchen

utensils, a couple of chairs, and a large chest which, on the following morning, served as an altar where Father Ponziglione offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.²⁵ One could cite many other occasions on which this missionary brought comfort and encouragement to stranded families.

Whenever there were two or three Catholic families in a certain vicinity, Father Ponziglione collected them at some central point in a cabin, tent, or house which he had converted into a temporary chapel. There confessions were heard. After Mass and Holy Communion a sermon was preached. The baptism of children and adults, followed by visits to the sick, completed the day's work. In the course of time, these small settlements grew into towns, and non-Catholics as well as Catholics attended the divine services which were held in the town hall or schoolhouse. Generally, after a few years had passed, a modest church had been erected on land given by the town corporation and built with money donated by both Catholics and non-Catholics.²⁶

Before a permanent church was erected, one of the missionary's chief problems was to secure quarters which were sufficiently commodious and suitable for a temporary chapel. The choice was not always a judicious one, as is proved by an incident that happened in January, 1873, at Independence, whither Father Ponziglione had come to celebrate Mass. Since there was no church in the town, a room over a wholesale liquor establishment was to be used for a chapel, and preparations were made for twenty-five people. More than fifty came. The Mass, a nuptial ceremony, was hardly started when the floor began to sway. A warning of danger was given by a young man at the threshold. To prevent a panic, Father Ponziglione turned toward the congregation and told them to leave the room, two at a time; when half the congregation had reached safety, the Mass was continued without accident.

The priest's presence of mind had prevented a serious disaster, as an examination of the building showed that the main beams supporting the upper story had been dislodged. Had it collapsed there undoubtedly would have been many casualties, for a fire had been built in a stove to warm the room.²⁷

To men and women who knew the loneliness of pioneer life, soul starvation was often a more poignant suffering than bodily hunger. Many were the occasions on which Father Ponziglione,

²⁵ *WMJ*, 2:41.

²⁶ *W. L.*, 13:20.

²⁷ *WMJ*, 4:14-15.

who was ever "all things to all men," brought spiritual comfort to those outside the Faith. Once he was called to the bedside of a John Valleley, a Catholic living near Peru. The dying man's anxiety to see a priest had aroused the curiosity of the non-Catholic farmers, simple, good men who had been taking excellent care of their sick neighbor. When Father Ponziglione came they watched him closely, noting the place where he was to spend the night. That evening toward twilight a group came to ask him to give them a lecture. The missionary consented, but the house in which he was staying was not large enough to accommodate all who came, eager to hear him.²⁸

Whenever Father Ponziglione offered Mass at Independence he was the guest of a Canadian whose wife was a non-Catholic. She assured the priest that he would be welcome always, provided that no attempt was made to convert her. On one visit, she was quite ill and mentally depressed. Wishing to relieve her, he left a copy of the *Imitation of Christ*, which she was to open at random in order to find the advice she most needed. Although the woman laughed at the suggestion, she used the remedy, which she found most efficacious. Two months later she requested Baptism. With her conversion her mental afflictions vanished.²⁹

However, the value of missionary labor is to be estimated not by the number of conversions, but rather by the type of moral and social life it secures. Morality was a desideratum in many of the sprawling towns which were attracting from older cities the most debased of their population. While in Newton in the summer of 1872, Father Ponziglione was told that of the thirty-six persons buried in the cemetery only one had died a natural death. The town was not more than a year old.³⁰

Not the least of Father Ponziglione's civic services was the restoration of tranquility to troubled communities. In Fredonia a disturbing and desperate fellow had shot a cow belonging to one of his neighbors, a Catholic. The Catholic in a fit of revenge decided to return the bullet and succeeded in gathering a group willing to assist him. At this juncture the missionary arrived in the town to celebrate Mass, and to him the Catholic made

²⁸ *WMJ*, 5:9. This incident is of interest for another reason. John Valleley was something of a prodigal son. Two years previously he had unjustly claimed 160 acres of the Mission property and carried his case to court. He refused to accept the compromises offered by Father Schoenmakers and eventually lost the case.

²⁹ *WMJ*, 5:12.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 4:4-5.

known his intentions. Though the men were under the influence of liquor, the priest so successfully appealed to their religious principles that they agreed to drop the quarrel.³¹

Father Ponziglione had a marvelous gift for happening along at the crucial moment. While at Elgin he witnessed a surgical operation being performed on a young lad, the sole support of a widowed mother. The boy had swallowed a peach stone, and the doctor was trying to urge it down the throat with a long blunt wire. The boy's respiration was becoming more difficult. The doctor was evidently growing discouraged when Father Ponziglione suggested putting some oil on the wire. The doctor was amused and assured the priest that oil could do no good; since the boy's

... esophagus was in a precarious condition, the trachea obstructed, one had to be prudent lest there result ulceration of the membrane followed by a suppuration which might bring on a paroxysm and at last a syncope and in such a case vitality might be suspended with fatal consequences.³²

Nevertheless, during this technical explanation the doctor took from a dusty shelf a bottle of oil, dipped the wire, and again inserted it into the boy's throat. As soon as the oil filtered about the stone the boy was able to swallow it with an effort. Astounded, the doctor turned to Father Ponziglione with a triumphant, "Sir, I do not believe you can find one in all our western faculty that can beat me in surgical operations."³³

Between 1868 and 1872 came the building heyday of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad with its construction of a route from Topeka to the western state line. During these years Father Ponziglione visited the various railroad construction camps where he found the poor dwelling in shanties or barracks. Those unable to secure either planks or logs lived in sod-covered dugouts. Some cooked their food in outdoor fireplaces made of rocks, others built a fire, Indian fashion, in the middle of their dugout. The daily fare was corn bread, a high sounding title for a lump of unsalted corn meal dough baked under the ashes and served with sorghum and creamless coffee. Father Ponziglione never found it difficult to eat this mixture, because the long excursions from one camp to another gave him "four or five ounces of good appetite and frequently six ounces of real hunger."³⁴

³¹ *Ibid.*, 4:29.

³² *WMJ*, 7:35-36.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁴ *WMJ*, 4:1-2.

The poor were not confined to railroad camps. In fact, the majority of the newcomers to Kansas were people of scanty financial means and were dependent entirely on the work of their hands and the production of the soil. In picturing the struggle endured by these settlers between 1874 and 1881, human language is painfully inept. Father Ponziglione's accounts of these years are veritable lamentations. Year after year, spring crops were planted only to be devoured by chinch bugs, legions of flies, and locusts without number. One year, a pall of black birds covered the fields of sprouting corn, and what remained after their ravages was devoured by grasshoppers. Then came the droughts, which made rock of the earth, and were succeeded by long seasons of rain, which made clay of the soil and rendered planting impossible.

That there was a great exodus from Kansas during these hectic years was not surprising; the wonder was that any of the settlers remained. In trying to discover just what held those disheartened farmers in a land that threatened to revert to the "Great American Desert," one is impressed by the influence of the missionaries. Many of the settlers, it is true, were too poor to leave, for to start out empty-handed into unknown regions was far more terrifying than ekeing out a bare existence on a devastated farm. That they were kept from complete despair was due in great part to the daily encouragement and counsel of the missionary and his exhortations to prayer, to the triduum, novenas, and rogation processions through the parched and desolate farming district.

In the pulpit Father Ponziglione exercised a singular influence. He wrote out his sermons and composed them in much the same fashion that he would a lesson to be used in a classroom. A reading of his simple, practical explanations of some of the great dogmas of the Faith convinces one of the truth of a statement by a discerning lay brother who said that Father *taught* his congregations and never failed to convince and inspire them. Even though his was not a polished oratory, Father Ponziglione's sermons were never quite excelled by those of more eloquent preachers who came periodically to the Osage Mission.³⁵

In the meanwhile, the Jesuit circuit rider did not forget his

³⁵ Kehoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8. Among Father Ponziglione's *Writings* there is an interesting collection of sermons, discourses and retreat notes.

Osage in Oklahoma. From 1871 until 1888,³⁶ the year preceding his departure from Kansas, his visits to the Indian Territory were frequent, though irregular. When this tribe lived in Kansas and numbered between three and five thousand, it had but one agent; after the removal to Oklahoma, though the number had dwindled to fifteen hundred, it was supervised by an agent, sub-agent, commissaries, marshals, sheriffs, police, doctors, and farmers. This imposing personnel was paid from the \$9,000,000 that the government owed the Indians, some of whom were suffering from real want.³⁷

Under such conditions, the Indians found much comfort in the missionary's visits. If he experienced a great joy at the welcome they tendered him, he also endured a great anxiety. Nearly all of the Catholic portion of the nation, the half-breeds numbering some sixty families, had been reared at the Osage Mission school and wished their children to enjoy the same opportunity. Because they tried to make this desire a reality by sending to the President several petitions asking for a Catholic missionary, the agent refused to give them rations and would not pay for the work they had done.³⁸

This Indian agent was a product of the new policy which President Grant had adopted in the early days of his administration. The Society of Friends was permitted to select the agents for the Indian Territory. The President evidently felt that he could not secure Senate confirmation for men chosen for other than political reasons, unless the appointments were controlled by some well-defined organization that the Senators would fear to offend.³⁹ The Quaker agent was bent on putting a stop to Father Ponziglione's visits because they disturbed the regulations of the school and caused too much excitement in

³⁶ From the time the Osage left Kansas the Jesuit Fathers visited them and neighboring tribes in the Indian Territory not *ex officio* but *ex caritate*. Faculties were granted them by the Bishop of Little Rock. In 1875 or 1876 Propaganda appointed Father Isidore Robot, O. S. B., Prefect Apostolic over all the Indians in the Indian Territory. Without anyone to help him Father Robot found the work so burdensome that he requested the Fathers of the Osage Mission to continue their missionary work among the Indians.

In a letter of January 18, 1886 (*WMJ*, 7:92), Father Ponziglione states that he discontinued these missions toward the close of 1885 as it was impossible to attend them without seriously neglecting the growing congregation of St. Francis. However, his *Journal 1886-1891* shows that he made excursions to the Indian Territory as late as 1887 and 1888.

³⁷ *WMJ*, 7:16.

³⁸ *WMJ*, 5:19.

³⁹ Laurence F. Schmeckebler, *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities and Organization* (Service Monographs of the U. S. Government, 48). John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1927.

the camps. When he came all the Indians ran after him to have their children baptized, all wanted to go to Confession and to attend Mass. They even insisted on his coming to the cemetery to bless the graves of their dead.⁴⁰

Though the Catholic children were not allowed to attend Mass, and though Father Ponziglione himself was threatened with forcible ejection from the Agency, he continued to brave the prospect of rough treatment. He never ceased regretting in his accounts published in *Woodstock Letters* and in his reports sent to the Provincial in St. Louis that the Society had so unwisely failed to establish a mission for the Osage in their new domain.

With the increase in the number of secular priests in Kansas the various churches and missionary stations established from the Osage Mission were gradually transferred to the Bishop of Leavenworth. By the eighties the work of the Jesuits was confined principally to the congregation attending the Church of St. Francis at the Osage Mission and to the tribes in the Indian Territory.

The decade of the eighties was drawing to a close. In the year 1889, Father Ponziglione celebrated the Golden Jubilee of his entrance into the Society of Jesus. A few months later he bade farewell to the Osage Mission and to all that veritable network of humanity south of the Santa Fé Trail, which he had so tirelessly served for more than thirty-eight years.⁴¹

On August 4, 1889, when Father Ponziglione left the Osage Mission for Marquette College, he simply exchanged one circuit for another. Seven months after his arrival at Marquette he was sent to the St. Stephen's Mission among the Arapahoe, where he remained about one year and nine months. In December of 1891 he arrived at St. Ignatius College, Chicago.

The energy of the man approaching his eightieth year astounds one. Shortly after his arrival in Chicago he learned of the pitiable plight of several colonies of his countrymen, wretchedly poor Italians, whose religious welfare had been grossly neglected. He organized for them the Guardian Angel

⁴⁰ *WMJ*, 5:19.

⁴¹ From July to September, 1880, he traveled to Colorado and then on to California on a begging tour for funds to complete the construction of the Church of St. Francis at the Osage Mission which had been under construction since 1872. *WMJ*, 6:53-55.

From June of 1886 to April of 1887 he was at the St. Stephen's Mission in Wyoming established for the Arapahoe Indians. *Ponziglione Journal 1886-1891*.

School; in a few years it became the largest parish school in the world with an attendance of 2,500 children. An equally flourishing Sunday school was established for them.⁴²

Besides caring for the Italians, Father Ponziglione was historian of the College and assistant pastor at Holy Family Church. He was chaplain of St. Joseph's Home for Deaf Mutes, where he organized a Sodality and prepared sermons, psalms and prayers in the sign language for those in the institution. During these years he was also Catholic chaplain to the inmates of the Bridewell Reformatory. It was for them, he performed his last missionary act. An entry in his Journal for March 18, 1900, reads: "Sunday, this morning I had Mass at Bridewell."⁴³ Ten days later he lay on his deathbed. On March 28, 1900, a great Jesuit circuit rider met his Master. His dying words, acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, had been the theme of his entire missionary career.

Though a contemporary appraised Father Paul Mary Ponziglione as the "greatest missionary of the Restored Society at least in the Western states" he has received the "ungrateful reward of unmerited obscurity." An attempt was made at one time to introduce into the Kansas Legislature a bill for the erection in his honor of a monument on the Capitol grounds to commemorate his contributions to the state. From the outset the success of the proposal was doubtful owing to the hostility of the Free Masons to whom Father Ponziglione gave no quarter in his sermons.⁴⁴

Incidentally, a refined fearlessness was pre-eminent in him. Even if one disregards his contributions to the development of Kansas, the memory of his iron courage alone should have preserved his name. For thirty-eight years he traveled through a country where eternal vigilance was the price of safety. But the peril of a journey never deterred him because of his unwavering trust in Divine Providence and his vivid realization of the presence of his Guardian Angel. He tells us of an experience one afternoon some forty miles from Independence at a wayside inn operated by the Bender family. He had decided to spend the night there but something warned him to go on. As night was coming he was undecided what to do, when two vicious looking dogs dashed out of the house toward him. The priest quickly

⁴² W. W. Graves, *Life and Letters of Father Ponziglione, Schoenmakers and Other Early Jesuits at Osage Mission*, St. Paul, Kansas, 1916.

⁴³ Ponziglione *Journal* 1892-1900.

⁴⁴ Kehoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

swerved his horse toward the road and drove at full gallop until he came to a more hospitable cabin some two miles away. Father Ponziglione had stopped more than once at the inn of the Benders but always in the daytime. Had he asked for hospitality that night, it might have been his last. Shortly after, there were found in the garden the remains of seven bodies, victims who had been robbed and then murdered by the Benders.⁴⁵

In Father Ponziglione's character there was that combination of reserved aloofness and gentle friendliness which is born of a deep humility and a daily contact with eternal verities. However, it must argue somewhat for his approachableness that he was known as "Father Paul," a name which became a household word in southern Kansas. So silent was he about his ancestry that those who lived with him for years knew nothing of his noble parentage.⁴⁶ But his genteel breeding was never disguised by his coarse suit, heavy leather boots, flannel shirt, or the low black felt hat which covered his silvery hair and shaded a pair of black, piercing eyes that had just a suggestion of sadness about them.⁴⁷

The warmth of a Latin temperament is discernible in his prolific writings. Though their literary value is not great yet they are invaluable as records of Osage and Kansas history and are a monument to himself and to the men about whom he wrote. He grows almost lyric in descriptions of sleet-covered prairies, moonlight nights, or even so plebeian a scene as a sprouting cornfield. Throughout his carefully written manuscripts there runs a note of quaint, quiet, tactful humor enhanced by a phonetic spelling. His choice of material and his care for chronology indicate a discerning sense of historical values.⁴⁸

A study of the life of a missionary is in effect a portrayal of the social group among whom he works. The purpose of this paper has been to recapture by means of a sketch of a Jesuit circuit rider's career a little of the spirit and some of the outlines of life as they were found on one of our Last Frontiers.

SISTER MARY PAUL FITZGERALD

⁴⁵ *WMJ*, 4:15-16.

⁴⁶ Kehoe, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 85.

⁴⁸ Owing to the great amount of repetition in his *Writings* there are some discrepancies now and then in dates. But Father Ponziglione is the ultimate authority on the chronology of events to which he was an eye witness.

DOCUMENTS

Selections from the Diary and Gazette of Father Pierre Potier, S.J. (1708-1781)

The Diary and Gazette of Potier are important documents for the eighteenth-century history of Ohio. The early missionary activities in that territory were recounted in an article on "The Jesuits in Ohio in the Eighteenth Century," by W. Eugene Shiels, S. J., appearing in the January, 1936, number of *MID-AMERICA*. The author of that article utilized the present documents, which are now being presented as a complement to his study, and then kindly allowed the present writer and translator to use them for purposes of composing a doctoral dissertation in this field.

The complete Diary covers the years from 1743 to 1781, recording the chief events in the life of Father Potier (1708-1781) from the time of his departure from France to that of his death at Assumption Mission. His Gazette is a copy of letters sent and received by him during this same period. Both documents are in the *Archivum Generale* of the Jesuits. Photostat copies of the selections given below are in the library of Loyola University.

Potier came to Assumption Mission in 1744 to act as assistant to the superior, Father Armand de la Richardie, S. J. The mission was located on Bois Blanc Island in the river below Detroit, until the Conspiracy of Nicolas destroyed the buildings in 1747. The establishment was rebuilt immediately afterward on the site of the present Sandwich, Ontario, the place then called Pointe de Montréal.

The letters relating to Father de la Richardie show a hitherto undisclosed picture of his work among the Indians. At the time when he wrote the letters here printed he was past sixty years of age and had retired to Quebec, but had been recalled to the active field so that he might use his great influence in suppressing peaceably the threatened revolt of the Hurons under Nicolas against the French. Had this conspiracy, which was apparently subsidized by the English, been successful, the French would undoubtedly have been driven out of the Ohio Valley and perhaps would have been forced to evacuate Canada several

years before the Treaty of Paris. Father de la Richardie gave France a few more years tenure in New France.

DIARY OF FATHER POTIER

1743—1747

1743

- April 18. Departure from la Rochelle.
 August Attacked at sea by three English vessels.
 October 1. . . . Arrived at Quebec; remained there 15 days.
 October 16. . . . At Lorette 8 months and 8 days.

1744

- June 26. Departed from Quebec for Le Detroit.
 September 25. . Arrived at the Isle of Bois Blanc.
 September 28. . Performed my first service. (It was for 40 Sols [sous]).
 October 11. . . . Was at the fort, my first visit. (Saw Mr. Navarre, the 12th.)
 October 13. . . . The Huron Mission was moved to the Isle of Bois Blanc on October 13, 1742.
 October 28. . . . Was at the River aux Canards.¹ . . . Navarre had been there for five days. I did not see him.
 November 5. . . . Was at the fort with Mr. de Longueuil² for a sale, etc.
 November 8. . . . Navarre passed by the Isle of Bois Blanc, going hunting, and breakfasted; he repassed the next day with 12 turkeys.

1745

- February 2. . . . Began to make *des calleaux* (?).
 March 22. The lightning struck the chapel at Lorette; a soldier was hurt.
 July 29. The lightning struck close to our house.
 August 20. Arrival of Mr. de Muys³ with the news of the capture of the Isle Royale, etc. Left the fort on the 27th; and the 29th from here.
 August 28. Cuillerier⁴ passed here leading 20 Frenchmen to the defense of Niagara.
 September 22. . . About this time was at the fort with Mr. Navarre; we slept at the River aux Canards.

¹ River of the Ducks, near Detroit.

² Longueuil was in charge of the post at Detroit.

³ Probably the son of Nicholas Daneaux. See *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 342.

⁴ Son of Jean Baptiste Cuillerier mentioned in *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 306.

- October 19....Left for winter-quarters,⁵ where I remained for 6 months and 18 days. This very same day Brother La Tour⁶ was hurt by a discharge of a gun by Regis.⁷
- December 2...Baptized a woman of the Loups⁸ at Etionnontout,⁹ who died the 11th.

1746

- January 31....Departure of d'Hondatorenha for the war.
- March 1.....The cabin of Enons is burnt.
- March 15.....Crossed over a River on the ice.
- March 20.....A dog was drowned in the ice of the River Sandusky.
- March 25.....During the night of the 24-25 Father de la Richardie had a paralytic attack.
- April 4.....Had the colic. . . . Read a letter in Huron addressed to the chiefs Grand Council.
- April 16.....Departed from Ondietsi, etc. . . . Passed by the portage of Etionnontout where I remained until the 30th, and arrived, on May 6th, at the Isle of Bois Blanc.
- April 28.....Navarre came away from the Point of Cedars¹⁰ after having waited there for me for 6 days.
- May 21.....The fever attacked me this morning, and lasted for 14 months.
- May 27.....Buried there La Douceur (1st burial).
- June 7.....The wheat is frost-bitten.
- June 14.....Departure of the Ottawas, Potawotami, and Sauteurs for Montreal.
- July 29.....Departure of Father la Richardie for Montreal in the canoe of Prejan.
- August 20....Father Dujaunai¹¹ made a retreat at the Isle of Bois Blanc.
- November 6..Navarre and Pierrot Chene passed going hunting.
- November 14..Was at the hunting at Presqu'île.

⁵ At Sandusky, Ohio.

⁶ Pierre Gournay, called "La Tour." See *Jesuit Relations*, LXX, 85.

⁷ Regis was a layman in the employ of Assumption Mission.

⁸ The Loups or Delawares had settled in Ohio at the invitation of the Hurons.

⁹ This place was located a mile or two south of where Sandusky River empties into Sandusky Bay.

¹⁰ Cedar Point, Ohio.

¹¹ Jesuit missionary to the Ottawa tribes. He came to Canada in 1734 and died in Quebec in 1780.

November 22...Arrival of 2 Hurons from Montreal with 4 scalps.

December 6...Navarre and Pierrot Chene stayed 7 or 8 days at the Isle of Bois Blanc.

1747

January 2....Arrival of Mr. Sacre-Epee, Junior, with the cross of St. Louis for Mr. de Longueuil.

January 18....The house of Aron-issa burnt.

January 23....Mr. de Longueuil and Cuillerier came over the ice to the Isle of Bois Blanc through a blizzard.

February 15...Departure of 22 French for the Shawnees.

February 15...Arrival of an Onnontague at the Isle of Bois Blanc with the news of the defeat at the Cedars; departed the 16th for the fort, and the 17th Mr. de Longueuil hurried after the 22 Frenchmen to warn them to stop.

March 19.....Was at the fort . . . found the river full of ice at the Pointe du Montreal.¹²

March 31.....Arrival of 32 persons from Montreal to remove the nations.

April 16.....Departed for Etionnontout, reached there the 20th; returned thence the 24th and arrived at the Isle of Bois Blanc on the 29th.

May 20.....Arrival of Nicolas¹³ at the Isle of Bois Blanc with his warriors. . . . I betook myself to the fort at half after mid-night.

May 31.....About this time Antoine Chapoton, Tousignan, and LaBorde were killed by the Ottawas towards the Saghinan.¹⁴

LETTERS FROM THE JOURNAL OF FATHER POTIER

1749—1750

I

Marcol¹⁵ to me, written June 19, 1749 received October 23, through the Wea chiefs.

My Reverend Father,

The Peace of Christ. Nothing can give me more pleasure than

¹² Pointe du Montreal is today the site of Sandwich, Ontario.

¹³ Nicolas was a Huron chief and the instigator and prime mover in the so-called Conspiracy of Nicolas.

¹⁴ The Saghinan is today the Saginaw River. These murders, committed by the faction of Nicolas, were part of the opening of the Conspiracy.

¹⁵ Father Marcol was Superior of the Canada Missions of the Society of Jesus; he resided in Quebec.

the resolve of which you have notified me, to make one last effort to perfect yourself in the Huron language.¹⁶ Do so then, my Reverend Father; see the savages a great deal; go into their cabins and let them have easy access to you at all times. It is the means of winning them. This is troublesome, I know, but the welfare of souls and the glory of God demands of us this sacrifice. Let us often recall those sentiments of zeal and of fervor with which, in leaving Europe and our families, we came into this country to seek here a life of hardship or an early death. Confess, preach, teach, explain the Catechism. Father de la Richardie is no longer of sufficient vigor to sustain the fatigues of a mission,¹⁷ and as I am counting on his descending [to Quebec] on the earliest possible day, I am beseeching our Lord to fill you with his spirit and to grant you all that is necessary to enable you to carry on, manage, and augment a splendid mission. . . .

II

To Father Marcol . . . On September 29th.¹⁸ By Mr. Dubuisson.¹⁹

My Reverend Father,

The Peace of Christ. I received your letters dated the 13th of May and the 19th of June. I am properly grateful for the offers of service that you make to me in the first, and I will strive to profit by the instruction that you gave in the second. Although the progress that I have made in the Huron language, since the last letter that I had the honor to address to you, has not been very considerable, I nevertheless count on being able next spring to conduct affairs here in case Father de La Richardie goes down [to Quebec]. This Reverend Father continues to enjoy a passable health. He has retained Brother Gournay with him, because the whimsical old St. Cosme²⁰ broke his word with him.

Nicolas and his adherents, with the exception of 6 families who have settled down at the mission, are constantly persever-

¹⁶ Father Potier might have merited the following exhortation and the implied reproof. He had been among the Hurons since October 16, 1743. Father de la Richardie had learned the language in two years.

¹⁷ Father de la Richardie was at this time sixty-three years of age and had been in Canada for twenty-nine years, during twenty of which he had lived among the Hurons at Detroit.

¹⁸ The conflict in dates between this letter and the preceding one is undoubtedly due to carelessness on the part of the copyist, Potier.

¹⁹ Dubuisson had charge of conveying supplies between Quebec and the upper country.

²⁰ Not connected with the famous missionary family of St. Cosme in *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 262.

ing in their schism, and it is to be hoped that they will continue so to persevere, for on the avowal of the Hurons themselves who are there, these are spirits of such bad faith and so rebellious that if they came back into the village, they could not restrain themselves from exciting commotions. Moreover Father La Richardie, in view of their obstinacy, has deemed it best to abandon them to their reprobate sense. In general the Hurons of the country above are blackguards, knaves, sots, and superstitious, with a Luciferian pride. But it is necessary to add that there are good ones among them, though these are *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, [scattered swimmers in the vasty deep—Vergil] and for the love of these few I consent to live and to die amongst them.

Our buildings are entirely reconstructed with the exception of some flooring and the platform of the chapel. But these things did not prevent us saying Mass for the first time on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

We are expecting Mr. de Celorum²¹ (sic) every day, although we have had no news from him for 15 days, when an Ottawa brought us some letters that were dated August 24th. He was then just ready to leave the Shawnees on the Scioto to go to the River of the Rock²² to make his visit to the Miami rebels. The season is far advanced. I fear that the army may be obliged to spend the winter in Detroit. If this should prove so, I pity Father Bonnecamp²³ and your Reverence who no doubt has need of him. I am, my Reverend Father, in union with your Holy Sacrifices, with submission

Your very humble . . .

III

I, to de Longueuil, of 29th of September, by Mr. Dubisson.

Monsieur,—

It is with regret that I see your departing hence; and to the regret there has succeeded sorrow when I learned of the vexatious adventures of your voyage from Detroit to Montreal. I am especially indignant at the Pointe Pelee²⁴ for the villainous trick

²¹ De Celoron was on his famous trip down the Ohio River in which he took formal possession of the entire valley in the name of Louis XV of France.

²² The Big Miami.

²³ For Father Bonnecamp's account of this expedition, in which he served as cartographer, see *Jesuit Relations*, LXIX, 19-21, 151-99.

²⁴ A sharp peninsula extending from the north shore of Lake Erie, about forty miles southeast of Detroit.

that it played. But my sorrow is entirely dissipated at the arrival of the promotion. Already I have twice had the honor of complimenting you on the occasions of your advancement. Permit me to do so for the third time, and this doubly, once on your own account and again on that of your brother. May Heaven grant that you may not remain just there!

Nicolas is always the same and is at the same place. There is a rumor that he has a design to come and re-establish his camp at Sandusky, but I hope that we may be able to oppose it.

Sieur Tahatie²⁵ arrived lately from Orange²⁶ with a grand collar as a present for Nicolas from the government of Boston in thanksgiving to him for having employed the hatchet of Onontio [the French General] against Onontio himself, and to invite him to betake himself to Boston or to Oswego with the promise that all the magazines will be open to him so that he may take freely from them whatever seems good to him.

IV

Mr. de Sabrevois has tried to repay the couriers on their return I have the honor to be with respect²⁷

Your very etc. Celoron. . . . This September 8, 1750.

I am expecting the ancients [chiefs] and after learning their views, shall write another letter to Father de La Richardie. If the ancients have departed, we shall have to dispatch couriers in haste to Father de La Richardie. I am addressing to you the letter of Father de La Richardie under open seal. Please seal it and send it on.

V

To Mr. de Celoron (sic) September 8th [1750] in answer to the preceding.

Mr.

The ancients departed this morning. They knew without doubt the news before their departure, a fact which makes me believe that the news was not bad. Yet it is just possible that all was not known to them. However that be, it is the part of prudence to pursue the policy you have taken: and it is safer. The

²⁵ Tahatie was probably a renegade Huron who had married into one of the Iroquois families.

²⁶ Albany, New York.

²⁷ Of this letter Father Potier, by some mischance, copied only the fragment that is produced here. Letter III ends on the bottom of page 90 in the Journal and Letter IV begins at the top of page 91. Thus the gap in the Journal from September 29, 1749, to September 8, 1750, unfortunately deprives us of much desired information.

circumstances are treacherous; almost the whole village is in flight. I have found only Pierre Senswanne²⁸ prepared to be of service to us for this occasion. After many comings and goings he has found three young men to take your letter to Father de La Richardie; they are actually embarking. As soon as Babi shall have become sober, I shall urge him to go and tell you the news.

The son of Sastaretsi²⁹ must leave here tomorrow to go to join his father; I will detain him until the Hurons have conversed with you, in order to be able to send to Father de La Richardie through him what you judge most proper. I am with all the respect possible, Mr. your very etc.

I asked Pierre Senswanne whether he knew any news, and he answered: yes. Then he added that there was no bad news, only that the Shawnees had sent a calumet etc. to the four nations at Detroit praying them to bury the hatchet in regard to the Flat-heads.³⁰ This did not prevent me sending your letter to the Father. The Couriers have actually embarked, etc., as above.

VI

To Mr. de Celoron. September 9th, 1750. Carried by the son of Tiokwoin.

Mr.

The couriers who were carrying your letter to Father de La Richardie, having come up with the ancients on the river, gave it to them, and they have returned this evening. Their precipitation surprises me, for I was counting on their going on until they would find the Father. They alleged as excuse that they were not sufficiently powerful to be able to join him. All those whom I have questioned concerning the state of affairs replied that all was well there. You may form your opinion when you hear them. The bearer of this note is the son of Tiokwoin who should leave for Conchake³¹ immediately upon the Hurons talk with you. I am respectfully, etc.

²⁸ "The husband of the Miami woman." (Inserted.)

²⁹ Sastaretsi or Sastaredzy was a member of a line of Huron chiefs all bearing that name. He remained loyal to the French during Nicolas' attempted conspiracy. He died August 4, 1747, according to *New York Colonial Documents*, X, 118. This is undoubtedly his son.

³⁰ The name Flat Head (Tetes-Plates) was given to many Indian tribes both east and west of the Mississippi River.

³¹ In the vicinity of what is today Coshocton, Ohio.

VII

Mr. de Celoron to me. September 9, 1750 brought by John Mary and Cahousa [?] at 8:30 P. M.—he was asleep since 1:00 P. M.

My Reverend Father:

I learn of new circumstances which enable me to understand everything concerning Father de La Richardie. Baby has just now baldly confessed that the fugitive Hurons have evil designs, and that your Father Superior is in danger; in brief, here is what Baby says:

1. He repeats what La Miamise has already declared—he does not say that they will kill but he confesses that it is perilous. Please question this determined savage; what reason could Baby have for divulging this news? Does he fear that the Hurons of Nicolas, once having returned to the mission will demote him and will dethrone Sastaredzy?³² It is not at all likely that they will go so far, I do not believe that this manner of acting can take place; but one must certainly believe that the Hurons of Yahague³³ are still outlaws and that the impunity of their crime makes them more daring than before.

I did not at all desire to prevent authoritatively the voyage of Father Superior, I advised him, and I think that he should yield in circumstances such as these after receiving advice so often reiterated by the Hurons themselves. I reiterate my injunctions concerning Father de La Richardie—join with me in persuading him not to make an attempt which gives to the rebels an occasion to prove themselves more culpable.

The Father must take counsel with the Hurons accompanying him. They are anxious for prudent action, inasmuch as they share the menaces which have been made and most likely they will share the blows which could fall (upon them). I address to you a letter for the Father which I pray you to send him by the son of the King,³⁴ who should leave tomorrow. I should be sore tried were his zeal and steadfastness a source of harm to him. I am, respectfully, Most Reverend Father, Celoron . . . this 9 September 1750 at Detroit.

E. R. Ott

³² See footnote 29.

³³ A river east of Sandusky Bay which the French called Rivière a Sequin, perhaps the Cuyahoga.

³⁴ The Son of Sastaredzy?

Notes and Comment

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twenty-ninth annual meeting conjointly with the Texas State Historical Association at Austin, Texas. Sessions met April 16, 17 and 18. Despite distances and other difficulties which prevented a more numerous attendance, the feeling seemed to be unanimous that this convention was unique in its kind. The enthusiasm awakened by the Texas Centennial, added to proverbial Southern hospitality and the desire of Texans to impress people from afar, contributed largely to the pronounced friendliness and to the general success of the meeting. A trip to San Antonio, which included sight-seeing of historic spots and a business session, served to bring the historians together and to break down academic stiffness.

The whole program, influenced as it was by circumstances of place and time, was unusually good. Luncheon and dinner addresses by Professors Isaac J. Cox, Louis Pelzer and William C. Binkley were suited to the occasion and left nothing to be desired in the way of entertaining scholarship. The Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, Professor Charles W. Ramsdell, deserves expressions of appreciation. Noticeable likewise was the excellent work of Reverend Dr. Paul J. Folk, C. S. C., and Dr. Carlos Castañeda, whose researches have set the Catholic backgrounds of Texas history in their proper light. The historians had every reason to be satisfied with the convention. At the same time, the State which played host to them, received a new impetus in its efforts to revive its great past. The 1937 meeting will be held in St. Louis.—R. C.

Historic Sault-St. Marie was the scene of a three-day celebration honoring the venerable jubilarian, Reverend William Gagnieur, S. J., affectionately called "the last of the Black Robes." The festivities which were both civic and religious began on Sunday, May 10, in St. Mary's Church, on the very spot where the celebrated Father Marquette reared the first permanent house of worship in Michigan 268 years ago, and close to the spot where in the presence of the Jesuit missionaries, Allouez, Dablon, Drullets and Andre, and Indians in their feathered attire, the Frenchmen took possession of the lakes territory in the name of Louis XIV. The Jesuit fathers have spent themselves in apostolic efforts on behalf of the Indians of Upper Michigan through the intervening years of the centuries until now, when only one remains as "the last of the Black Robes."

Father Gagnieur, named by the Indians "Peg-in-age, the Winner," was born in Guelph, Ontario, Canada, May 10, 1857, of French-Scotch parents. Entering the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen, he was ordained priest at Montreal in 1886. For the past forty-seven years the jubilarian has been engaged in missionary work among the Indians, six years in the Canadian missions and the last forty-one among the Chippewas and Ottawas of the upper peninsula. At seventy-nine he is still active among the Chippewas.

The various services held were exceedingly colorful. The golden vestments used in the solemn services of the Church were set off by the native dress of the Chippewas and Ottawas who were present. In the civic cele-

bration the Indians presented a program consisting of the "Eagle Dance" and the "Rain Dance," of instrumental and vocal music, accompanied by piano and tom-tom. Among the speakers were two Chippewa Indians, Reverend Father Philip Gordon of Wisconsin, and Reverend Father Michael Ossagwin of Michigan. Each in turn addressed Father Gagnieur in his native tongue and then in English, expressing in a very affectionate Indian way a deep gratitude and appreciation in the name of the Indians. After them a brief address was delivered by Reverend Father Aubert, O. F. M., to whom this department is indebted for the account preceding. Father Aubert is the Franciscan missionary to the Indians of the lower peninsula, and among his good wishes to the jubilarian was one that Father Gagnieur would in reality not be "the last of the Black Robe missionaries" in that cradle of Jesuit enterprise.

A number of anniversaries of Catholic parish foundations have been celebrated during the past eight months. Last October, New Trier, Minnesota, observed the 80th year of St. Mary's Church. Seventy-fifth anniversary celebrations occurred in various churches. In October, St. Benedict's Parish, St. Benedict, Minnesota, held fitting commemorations in honor of the early Benedictines who administered to the German Catholics of Scott County after Bishop Cretin from 1856 until 1861, in which latter year the Benedictines left temporarily, and Father Peter Maly constructed the first church. A forty-page pamphlet on *The Diamond Jubilee of St. Benedict's Parish* was prepared for the occasion by Reverend Raymond Holte, who incorporated a wealth of local historical data within those pages. St. Wendelin's Parish of Luxemburg is also completing its 75th year. St. Francis Parish, Quincy, Illinois, commemorated the laying of its cornerstone by Bishop Juncker in 1860. Simultaneously with that celebration, December 8, 1935, other diamond jubilees were taking place at St. Peter's, St. Charles, Missouri, and Sacred Heart of Duluth, Minnesota. Other festivities beginning with October of last year were held in Wisconsin at St. Mary's Church of Durand, St. Paul's of Wrightstown, St. Mary's of Oshkosh and of Pine Bluff, St. Peter's of Tilden, St. George of Wilson, while St. Gabriel's of Prairie du Chien observed its 75th birthday on May 31 of this year. This latter was a foundation of Father Mazzuchelli, which would likely have become the site of a cathedral and the center of a diocese, had not Milwaukee and Dubuque become more prominent than the old French fort and post near the mouth of the Wisconsin River. St. Matthew's of Shullsburg, Wisconsin, now glories in its one hundred years of service. Immaculate Conception Parish of Brookfield, Missouri, is a diamond jubilarian parish. In March, 1936, the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the Sisters of St. Joseph was observed at Carondelet and Cahokia. Spring Hill College, the Jesuit institution of Alabama is commemorating the century of its existence under state charter.

The United States Catholic Historical Society has published Volume XXVI of *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1936) under the editorship of Thomas F. Meehan, K. S. G. At the end of the volume there is notice of the annual election of officers and a list of members. The opening article by T. J. Reardon pertains to the sesquicentennial celebration of the foundation of St. Peter's Church, the oldest ecclesiastical foundation of

the Catholic Church in New York. The history of St. Peter's from 1785 is traced in an enlightening survey. "Confederate Agents in Ireland," by Ignatius L. Ryan, C. P., M. A., was submitted by the author as a master's degree requirement to the Catholic University, and it is here offered modestly as an attempt "to follow step by step the various Confederate agents in their efforts to thwart the alleged recruiting of the Irish peasants during the years of the American Civil War by the official representatives and agents of the Federal Government." One of the important agents so dispatched to Ireland by the Richmond government was the Jesuit priest, Father John Bannon, about whom new facts, principally biographical, are presented. Another dissertation follows the preceding as a master's degree requirement. "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers, 1850-1865," by Cuthbert Edward Allen, O. S. B., purposes to reveal the opinions of two great Catholic journals of New York and Baltimore regarding slavery prior to the Civil War. Rather liberal amounts of quotation are made from *Freeman's Journal*, the *Catholic Mirror*, and other newspaper sources. Thomas F. Meehan concludes the volume with the publication of some letters of Giovanni Battista Sartori, first official representative of the United States (1797) to the Papal Court.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, founded in 1933 as a national society for the promotion of interest in Catholic history, has issued its report of 1934-1935 in one volume of two sections, the first of which is in English and the second in French. The constitution of the Association is published on pages 65 and 66. Among the many articles pertinent to the history of the Church in Canada are two regarding archive materials, "Les archives sulpiciennes source d'histoire ecclésiastique," by M. R. Bonin, P. S. S., and "Les archives de l'archevêché de Québec," by M. l'abbé Ivanhoë Caron, Ph. D.

The Catholic Historical Review for April, 1936, devoted the first third of its space to three articles and the remainder to Miscellany, book reviews and other informative items. The articles are "The Trial of Sir Thomas More," by Daniel Sargent, "Medieval Studies in America," by Martin R. P. McGuire, and "Growth and Development of Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston," by Richard J. Quinlan. These were papers read during the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association at Boston in December of last year.

The Catholic Courreur of New York began a series of articles in November, 1935, under the heading of "Early Voyageur Priests," by Alexander M. Stewart. These pertain especially to the Jesuit missions of upper New York. *The Catholic World* for November last had a dramatic sketch on "The Frozen Priest of Pembina," Father Joseph Gouffon, by Margaret A. McLeod; the story has ample historical materials as a background. Reverend Damian Cummins published a twelve-page pamphlet at Conception, Missouri, on the famous legends regarding Whitman and the Book of Heaven, called *Rebirth of a Dual Legend*. It is a summary of the refutations offered some years ago in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* by Father Rothensteiner, and in the *American Historical Review* by Edward Gaylord Bourne. *Catholicism and Big Business* is the title of a

twenty-page pamphlet by Reverend Eneas B. Goodwin, Associate Professor of History in Loyola University, Chicago. *The Canadian Historical Review* for March continues to offer its valuable bibliography of publications, the seventh part of which is a list of works on religious subjects containing many titles of interest particularly to Catholic readers.

The Pacific Historical Review for December, 1935, carried "The New Frontier and the Old American Habit," by Frederick L. Paxson. The *Michigan History Magazine* for the Spring and Summer of 1936, contains articles on Anthony Wayne, "Early Travel on the Ohio," "Captain Marryat in Michigan," "Letters of Long Ago," "Lumberjack Ballads," and other interesting items. *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, 1936, pp. 203-216, has an excellent bibliography under the heading "Some Recent Historical Items in Iowa Newspapers," which covers the year 1935 and part of 1936. *Minnesota History* for March, 1936, has a very noteworthy article by R. D. W. Connor, entitled "Our National Archives." It contains also a list of documents and materials acquired by the Minnesota Historical Society, among which are photostats of five Nicollet letters. *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, 1936, contains the opening chapters of "The Westward Trail," by W. A. Titus, the conclusion of "The Memoirs of a Civil War Sleuth," "New Upsala," by Filip Forsbeck, and as documents "Hawley's Diary of His Trip Across the Plains in 1860." Missourians should take great pleasure out of reading what the early settlers and visitors thought of their fertile state and what the long line of governors visualized for their constituents in inaugural addresses. New reading on these topics may be found in *The Missouri Historical Review* for April, 1936; under the authorship of Hattie M. Anderson appears "Missouri, A Land of Promise," and under that of Estal E. Sparlin appears "A Century of Missouri Ideology, as Seen Through the Inaugural Addresses of its Governors." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for March of this year printed "The Spanish Re-Exploration of the Gulf Coast in 1686," a series of documents edited and translated by Irving T. Leonard. These materials would follow chronologically after those on La Salle's occupation printed in the April number of MID-AMERICA.

Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, the biennial publication of a college of Jesuit historians in Rome, has issued the first number (January-June, 1936) of its fifth volume in spite of fears that the Ethiopian war might cause a shortage of printing supplies in Italy. The book is divided into five sections, namely, Historical Articles, Rare and Inedited Documents, Briefer Comments, Book Reviews, and a Bibliography of recently published works on the Jesuits. The contents appear in Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, German and English. Among the documents will be found several in the present issue pertinent to the biographer of Juan María Salvatierra, "The Apostle of Lower California." Father Tacchi-Venturi edits three newly discovered letters of the Milanese Jesuit written from Genoa to the General of the Jesuits in 1670, 1671, 1672. All are in Italian and express wishes to depart as a missionary to the Indies. Father Peter M. Dunne, S. J., of the University of San Francisco gives a setting and catalogue of a manuscript document found in the National Archives of Mexico. It is a defense of the missionaries who were laboring in the Si-

naloa missions in the middle of the seventeenth century and it was composed by Father Faria. Other documents and materials pertain to the early Jesuits in Europe.

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Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, M. A., is a candidate for the doctor's degree at St. Louis University and is writing on the Osage Mission and the Making of Kansas.

E. R. Ott, M. A., is preparing his doctoral dissertation at Northwestern University on early Ohio history.

Book Reviews

History of Texas (1673-1779). By Fray Juan Agustín Morfi. Translated and edited by Carlos Eduardo Castañeda. The Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1935. In two parts, pp. 1-242; 243-496. Illustrated.

The imposing roster of the Council of the Quivira Society, ever a guarantee of excellent format and first-rate scholarship, offers this important publication in connection with the centennial anniversary of the State of Texas. The book is notable.

Juan Agustín Morfi was one of the great scholars of colonial America. His brethren of the Franciscan Order wrote of him at his death that he was the greatest man their Province (O. F. M.) had, and the finest orator in the kingdom (of New Spain). This verdict of his associates, who are always most critical of such a man, summed up their opinion as formed under his governance, for he was Father Guardian of the famous convent of San Francisco el Grande. His ability as a historian shines out in this work. He is exact, terse, progressive in his subject, orderly, sometimes brilliant. His writing is authentic and it is enduring.

Morfi has long been known as the maker of the *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Texas*, the best source hitherto available to researchers in the colonial period of Texas. Another work of his was often mentioned, the *Historia*, but most students considered the two books to be the same one until in 1931 Doctor Castañeda discovered the manuscript of the *Historia* in the Archivo Nacional de México in the section *San Francisco el Grande*. This *Historia* rests almost entirely on the data of the *Memorias*, but it has the higher value of a true historical composition rather than a compilation of notes. Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote of the *Memorias* that they are the "standard authority for Texas history" before 1779. They are now supplanted by what scholars will come to call the definitive work on the subject.

Much credit for this fine publication must fall to Castañeda, the Latin-American librarian of the University of Texas. The school of historians at that university owes a great deal to the assistance of this thorough scholar, and much of its splendid deposit of Hispanic materials derives from his collections. His talents in this line are an admitted fact in the profession. And here the value of the production lies as much in the annotations of the editor as in the text that he has given to the public. Morfi is brought up to date in these footnotes and commentaries.

Somehow there seems to have been hurry in the publishing, for a bit of carelessness appears in the proof-reading of the notes and index. The index pagination is occasionally off by a page or two, and in the notes on Marquette the author unknowingly omits a critical fact. This is that Marquette did not stop at Chicago on his return from the journey of discovery but went on to St. Francis Xavier Mission. He returned to Chicago for the winter 1674-1675. On page 16 there is the curious yet not uncommon error of writing that Marfi was a "novitiate" instead of a "novice." Italics are omitted in *colector* on pages 22 and 27. These and similar shortcomings are the fruit of haste, and are not essential errors in the work.

This reviewer indulges the well-founded hope that the document here reproduced in translation and the full and careful commentary of Castañeda will quickly receive the wide use to which they are entitled.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University, Chicago

The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest. By Louise Phelps Kellogg. Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1935. pp. xvii+361.

A book on Wisconsin history by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg needs no introduction to the student of history. Her new volume, *The British Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, presents a graphic description of the period during which the Northwest was either a British possession or the object of struggle between Great Britain and the new nation, the United States. It continues the story of Wisconsin as told in *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* by Dr. Kellogg.

Although the period covered in this work is comparatively brief—1760 to 1815—many important and stirring events occurred, including the two wars between England and the United States, the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and the acquisition of the vast territory of Louisiana by purchase from France. There was also more or less continuous Indian warfare, notably Pontiac's Conspiracy and Tecumseh's revolt. Alliances with the Indians were eagerly sought by the British, French, Spanish and Americans. The dramatic campaign of George Rogers Clark, his convocation of about four thousand tribesmen, who formed an alliance with the revolting colonists, and his seizure of the Northwest from the British, are typical incidents of this era.

When in 1763 France ceded its northern and eastern possessions in the New World to Great Britain, there were scattered about through this region not only forts and fur trading posts but a number of little villages, such as Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. The French settlers took the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and kept their old ways of living. Roaming the forests and prairies were numerous Indian tribes, important as purveyors of furs but always a menace to white settlers.

While the British controlled the Northwest territory there was, strictly speaking, no civil government, although the French in Illinois asked for it. Their request was never granted and for a time they were in danger of meeting the fate of the Acadians in being deported from their lands. Fortunately a change in colonial administration averted this injustice. As to government, the author speaks of the régime of the fur trade as a species of government and the only form to be found in this section. "The British régime of sixty-five years was an interlude in the process, called by an earlier historian 'the Americanization of a French settlement'. . . . [It] was a wilderness régime, perpetuated solely in the interests of the fur trade. Not until its close could civilization come to Wisconsin and here build a modern, American community."

Aside from warfare, the paramount activity of this era was the fur trade, which was responsible for Great Britain's refusal to yield possession of the Northwest after the American Revolution. British control did not

end with the cession of the land to the United States by treaty at the end of the war. It was not until 1815, after a second war had been fought between England and America that the British régime ended. During the boundary disputes, which were due to the desire of the British to retain at least part of the Northwest, in order to control the fur trade, efforts were made by British diplomats to create a 'buffer state' between Canada and the United States, a state which was to belong to the Indians and help preserve the fur trade. If a neutral Indian state had been created "Wisconsin," says the author, "would have remained what John Quincy Adams called a 'howling wilderness' given over to Indians, wild animals, and the traders who profited by these conditions."

The book contains maps and facsimiles and many bibliographical footnotes. Original American manuscripts and photostatic reproductions of British Museum manuscripts were largely used in marshalling the facts with which the book is packed.

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL

Oconomowoc, Wisconsin

A Source Book for Medieval History. By Roy C. Cave and Herbert H. Coulson. The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1936. pp. 467.

The sources of medieval economic history have received little attention from American economists. They are, for the most part, imbedded in theological and Canon Law treatises written in Latin, and not easily accessible even to students acquainted with the language. This book, therefore, fills a space long vacant. It is the first medieval economic source book translated and published in this country. The compilers are to be commended for the excellence of a work that involved immense labor and that shows careful, discriminating judgment.

The book is arranged on a topical basis. Part One contains selections descriptive of medieval agriculture, forestry and the extractive industries, and includes the famous grant of mining rights to the Abbey of Corvey. Part Two deals with commerce. In this section some interesting selections have been made from patristic and legal sources, among them the Grant of Public Market, Coinage and Taxation Privileges to the bishop of Wydenbrugger by Otto the Great. In view of the general interest at the present time, and probably for some time to come, in prices and particularly in a "just price," some illuminating selections might have been translated from the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. Nearly all modern economists and economic historians have misunderstood the medieval doctrine of value and "just price." Dr. J. W. Thomson, for example, says: "The Church's concept of value was something absolute . . . something independent of supply and demand." A selection from the *City of God* would have given the real concept. And a quotation from the *Ethics* of St. Thomas would have made clear the scholastic and medieval idea of a "just price" of an article as a price not absolutely fixed, but changeable as the article was changed in location, time, and the risk involved in making the change. In Part Three many interesting selections are given illustrative of medieval town economy. In Part Four the attitude of the medieval Church toward slavery and serfdom is shown from Church and secular writings. In Parts Five and Six opinions of wealth and property and taxation are illustrated.

The burden of taxation was avoided in the sixth century in much the same way as it is at present. "Wherefore," wrote Gregory of Tours of the effects of excessive taxation by King Chilperic, "many left their cities and their possessions and seeking other kingdoms, thought it better to live abroad than to submit to such oppressions."

Many American economists have been absorbed in statistical research to such an extent that they have become statisticians and ceased to be economists. But economics is a science and not a collection of unrelated experience. It is based on principles that become clearer the farther back we go in history. Medievalists did not write books on economics, but they did perceive the principles underlying the science, and in their theological and historical writings expressed those principles. In many of these selections the fundamental principles of economics are discernible.

Professors Cave and Coulson have produced an invaluable work for students and instructors. Their translations are accurate, and the selections are generally those that will be helpful to the general reader and in the classroom. The book contains an excellent glossary and an adequate bibliography. The book is very attractively printed.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University, Chicago

The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California. By Peveril Meigs, 3d. University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1935. 192 pp.+ plates. \$2.50.

This is a very significant contribution in many ways. The author has followed perhaps the most sensible approach to the story of the Dominican frontier missions. He has taken a definite time period, a definite area of land in the upper part of the peninsula of Lower California, a definite group of natives, and a definite organization of missionary workers. Out of these materials he has made as finished a picture of a mission system as one could ever hope to find. There is evident a use but not of an obtrusive use of all of the implements of scholarship.

The time for the foundation of the Dominican missions follows that of the suppression of the Jesuits. The Dominicans asked for an area in which they might exercise their religious zeal. Deliberately they accepted charge of an inhospitable land and barbarous people. They planned their missions after consideration of the qualifications of the land, its suitability for cultivation, its inhabitants, water supply, and road communications. One by one the missions were developed, each with its buildings, church, farm lands, and herds. Nine missions in all were established and maintained for a relatively insignificant number of Indians between 1774 and 1834, in spite of poverty, disease, floods and drought. The author has gone over all of these items with microscopic care, and offers a completely satisfactory set of maps, plates, tables, diagrams and summaries.

As a complement to this geographical treatment it is hoped that soon there may appear another account which will portray the life of the fathers who labored in the wasteland frontier, and whose personalities have remained rather submerged in the present work.

J. V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Crusaders of the Jungle. By J. Fred Rippy and Jean Thomas Nelson. University of North Carolina Press, 1936. pp. x+401. \$3.50.

Professor Rippy has dedicated this outstanding production to the memory of Jean Thomas Nelson, who before his untimely death collaborated in the making of what is an unusual book.

The story of the *Crusaders of the Jungle* is an epic of history. The jungle is the frontier land of South America, that immense length and breadth of wild country into which the Crusaders pushed with steady pressure until scarcely a forest or *llano* or *montaña* or tropical river escaped their conquest. The Crusaders are "those zealous Catholic padres who entered the frontier plains, forests and jungles of South America in search of souls for God and the Roman Catholic Church." Beginning at the occupied margin of seacoast along the east, north and west of the continent, troops of missionaries worked their way to the most hidden recesses of the wide Amazon territory, touching with their magic stroke every group of native tribes and bringing Christianity to the entire population.

To attack such a tremendous narrative required daring spirit and a fund of scholarship. The tenuous questions of motive and method are a most difficult task for any man, especially for one who is not of the faith of these missionaries. And preserving a careful balance of judicious appraisal, without the common obscurantism and ill-will often met in a recital of these events, calls for a writer of unique tact and objectivity.

There is a sense of satisfaction on laying down this volume, of a fullness in this picture of the men of long ago. The book is properly a panorama of the mission system in operation. *The Setting* opens the story and brings on the chief characters and their problems. *Crusade* maps the country and recounts the operations in each of the sectors. *Atmosphere and Achievements* estimates the work and the workmen, the trials, the material gains, the slackening of feeble effort and retreat, the total accomplishment.

An excellent chart marks off the eight major fields of mission establishment, and, aside from giving the reader a clear guide to the progress of the narrative, it offers the most concrete sign of the magnitude of the work, as carried on for three centuries by Spanish and Portuguese religious. As one follows the advance of the Crusaders up the Orinoco, the Amazon or the Paraguay, or over the Andean cordillera and eastward, he finds a story so comprehensive that it could only be grasped after being broken up into segments somewhat as the Orders divided off their fields under separate directorates or as the viceroys apportioned the labors to the sons of this or that community or city.

The most important sector in these operations is deliberately omitted by the authors, the Paraguay Reductions. These are to form the subject of an entire volume, and they find only incidental mention in the present work. But the cannibal Caribs, the fierce Chiriguanos, the indomitable Jíbaros, all close competitors of the Araucanians in resistance to civilization and the yoke of Christianity, lead the parade of nations that submitted to the work of the missionary in a remarkable tale of social and religious uplift.

Professor Rippy has attacked this entire problem with seriousness, and he has made use of his exceptional technical equipment to gather a

deep and broad fund of knowledge. The subject matter will be entirely new to most readers. Original letters, reports of government officials, citations from the *Recopilación de las Indias*, travelers' accounts, the best of the older histories have been drawn on to add to his personal knowledge of the terrain and his thorough understanding of present-day conditions in South America. The tone of his book is almost constantly high and objective. He has evidently set out to learn, and he here gives the results of long and earnest study in a product that is almost encyclopedic in its scope. His attitude toward the spiritual motive and belief of the missionary is rarely other than sympathetic, and those few occasions that cast small shadows are due to his quotation from anti-clerical authors in a matter of general views. In this category he would have done better to speak his own mind rather than cite Henry Charles Lea, García Calderón, Boyd Barrett, Abbé Raynal, Thomas Gage, authors who are distinguished, among other things, for their bitterness toward the institutions that he is portraying.

There is much good humor in relating such oddities as the old ways of noting scientific observations. The illustrations are in the best style of the distinguished artist, Willis Physloc.

One chapter will cause some raising of eyebrows, the treatment of the shadowy spots under the caption "Blind Shepherds." Unfortunately such writing may easily lend itself to quotation in unscrupulous copiers. However, a kindly reader will at once recognize that the author could have shown matters many shades darker, and still be within the facts. This reviewer's only objection to the passages in question is to protest against a few undocumented accusations and the generally ill-tempered citations of the five authors listed above. The professor does not write with a jaundiced eye, and he is often at pains to remind his audience that the statements he cites are immoderate and based on bias or misunderstanding.

Some slight faults in terminology might be amended. Jesuits were not entitled to the appellation of *friar*, a term reserved for the monastic Orders. The function of a *provincial* is that of an administrator only inferior to the general of a religious group. In emphasizing superstitions prevalent in these parts, a realization of their parallel existence in more northerly lands might correct misapprehensions. In a few places a more reverent manner of speech would make for greater force. The lack of a bibliography is a handicap to one who reads with a questioning eye, though the notes give the title and date of most of the works cited.

The last chapter deserves particular praise. It is one of the finest appreciations of the mission work that has been written and it will be applauded widely. It is a model of the historian's craft, of incisive vision, objective estimate, sympathy with his subject, the genuine human enthusiasm which a first-rate effort evokes in every honorable man. This book should be investigated, for it is certain to take its place among the best studies in American historiography.

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Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776. Collated and edited by Leonard Woods Labaree. New York, 1935. 2 vols. pp. xxv+937. \$10.00.

Colonial history is a complex subject. For in this field not only must account be taken of those local and indigenous forces that affect national history, but the scholar must also discover and appraise the "influence of the mother country both as a cultural background and as a continuing influence upon colonial life." Every phase of the life and development of a colony is influenced, and to a degree determined, by the country whence the colonists came. And this is true of the British colonies in America even though they enjoyed greater freedom and were less the victims of paternalism than their fellows in French or Spanish colonies; in the beginning, and for some time thereafter, the colonists were Englishmen subjected to new influences such as the frontier. Hence if errors and misconceptions are to be avoided by the student of British colonial history an understanding of the official policy in regard to these colonies is indispensable. In the royal, rather than in the proprietary colonies, this British influence was chiefly operative, and therefore it is to the instructions to the governors of royal colonies that we must turn for enlightenment.

As a rule these instructions were prepared by the Board of Trade after consultation with other government officials, with English merchants engaged in colonial trade, with colonials who happened to be in London, or colonial agents resident in England. Not all of the instructions were enforced, or for that matter enforceable; not a few betray profound ignorance of conditions in America. Nevertheless, the series enables us to trace the development of British policy; in some instances it shows that legislation thought to be original to a colony was in reality the result of suggestion from London and in accord with England's general colonial policy; it reveals stereotyped procedure in excepting Roman Catholics from religious liberty from 1689 to 1776, and variation in the encouraging of intermarriage of white and Indian in Nova Scotia alone.

All of the royal colonies in North America, continental, Caribbean, as well as Bermuda, fall within the scope of these volumes. Newfoundland is omitted because it was not strictly a colony, and it did not fit into the general pattern. For the brief periods that Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Dominion of New England were under royal governors they are included. Otherwise the proprietary and charter colonies are considered only when the instruction took the form of a circular to royal and non-royal colonies alike. The year 1670 was chosen as a starting point because by that time such uniformity and regularity was attained as to make collation possible; 1776 limits the work because in that eventful year eight of the twenty-one royal colonies in America joined five others in declaring independence of the mother country.

In 1076 articles Dr. Labaree collates some twenty to twenty-five thousand instructions. For the task of editing and collating this mass of material Dr. Labaree was well qualified by his previous work *The Royal Governor in America*, published in 1930. In eighteen chapters he treats governor and council, assembly, legislation, revenue and finance, currency, salaries, justice, juridical and administrative officers, military affairs, maritime affairs, Indians, religion and morals, land, group settlements,

commerce, industry, and agriculture, external relations, reports and correspondence, trade instructions. The chapter on religion and morals, for example, is subdivided into established church, jurisdiction of the bishop of London, religious liberty, Roman Catholics, vice and immorality, the treatment of negroes and Indians, prayer for the royal family. Because of this wide range of subjects these volumes should be of interest to the student of government, society or economics, no less than to the historian. Dr. Labaree has produced a reference and source book the need of which was felt by scholars. These two volumes appear under the direction of the American Historical Association from the income of the Albert Beveridge Memorial Fund. The author and the Association have every reason to be gratified by the success of this venture.

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